

is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (26, p. 77), one version of which specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates.

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou*, a Samoan term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine*. Girls, classed as *taupoou*, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as in Samoa.

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names. If *manaia* and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following processes were used: (a) *kaukautuitui*, the rubbing of the entire body with chewed candle nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body.

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa*. After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was

ordered a number of stakes to be stuck up around the *tanungapola* to warn off trespassers until the fishing had been completed. 226
621
628

Members of the resident body of a *tofia* needed no chiefly permission to use any *tanungapola* on that *tofia*. Informants think that in ancient times the first catch went direct to the district chief, who forwarded some to his overlord, the Tui Kanokupolu or the Tui Tonga. 622
643
651

The construction and use of fish traps is said to have been learned from the Samoans. An ancient tapu in Tonga reserved the making of fish traps to the *toutai ika* (professional fishermen) but nowadays this tapu is removed. It was stated that a "fish trap," used anciently in trees with a decoy bird to catch pigeons, was adapted later for use in fishing. 226
177
784
223

A kind of fish-trap (*kau*) was made and used only by the people of Talau, Vavau, about which the following story is told: 226
176
173

Two matapules of the Tui Talau, Mapu and Faingaa, invented (?) the *kau* trap. Their chief, seeing the merits of the invention, excused these men from all other work, and they became local *toutai* (fishers and navigators) and lived like petty chiefs. No one else could make their traps. Later these men taught the trade to a man named Lulu who carried on their work and enjoyed their privileges after their death. Lulu in turn had a successor, name unknown, and so on. Not until King George I freed the people were these traps made by everyone—women as well as men. [As the first Tui Talau and the first Mapu and Faingaa in Tonga are reputed to have been Fijian immigrants, perhaps the *kau* fish trap is a diffused Fijian invention.] 477
462
177

At Tuanekivale, Vavau, were two families whom tradition set aside as specialists in shark fishing: 226
173

The title holders in these families, named Palefau and Fetoai, were called *toutai*, but it is doubtful whether they were so designated by the Tui Tonga. They are said to still exercise their family function. In shark fishing they employed a boat, a bait of pork, and a rope noose. It is said that they could call the sharks about them at will.

It was believed that if while away fishing, things should happen at home to the detriment of the fishers, such as stealing of their property, the sharks could not be caught, no matter how plentiful they might be. In such an emergency, it behooved the fishers to return home and make some sort of peaceful settlement of the difficulty, after which the sharks could readily be caught.

OTHER OCCUPATIONS

In modern Tonga tapa is made by coöperative associations of women (*kantaha*). Each woman contributes an equal amount of white tapa strips, which she has previously prepared, and the manufactured goods are shared among the members of the company. The work is done in specially erected houses and usually under the direction of an old woman. 285
474

The making of large mats is done by individual women, but a woman may call upon her neighbors to assist her in her work, with the understanding that the same assistance may be asked in return. 285
476

Coiled baskets (*katoalu*) are made by women, but never for their own use. Most of them are intended as gifts to a chief or for presents at weddings, funerals, or similar occasions. The basket may be used by the recipient, but many baskets, particularly openwork baskets, seem to be put to no practical use. 285 [31]

Wooden bowls were made by men who probably were *tufunga langafale*. 322

Tongan medical treatment is a mixture of magic and herb doctoring. (See page 338.) Most of the doctors are commoners, and may be either male or female (*langata faitoo* or *feine faitoo*). They are not appointed by chiefs, but usually follow the practice of a parent, thus keeping the knowledge a secret within the family. Payment (*tukutoo*) is made after a cure, in the form of a feast, during which valuable articles (*koloa*, wealth) such as tapa and mats are placed in front of the doctor. The supervisor of boys was termed *faikaukau* of *faitefe*. (See p. 188.) 755 757 759 565 462 622 488 465 309

While barbers, according to Mariner, might be either men or women, most of them are said to have been women. Women of chiefly rank could serve as barbers for chiefs. 305 462 565

TITLES OF MATAPULES AND ARTISANS

The following list includes the matapule titles which I have recorded, together with the origin of each title and the relationships of the incumbents so far as known. The titles of artisans are included, though all of them may not be strictly matapule titles. (See p. 144.) 565 551 624 644 463 554

Afeaki, matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Haapai.

Afu Haa Laufuli, a matapule of the Haa Molofaha, serving the Tui Kanokupolu; resides in Vavau. Anciently he was matapule to the Tui Haa Takalaua and had a house at Fonuamotu, Tongatabu, the residence of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

Afu Haa Mango, a matapule. Residence Okoa Island, Vavau.

Ahomee, a carpenter (*tufunga fale*) appointed by the chief Ahomee in whose *tofia* at Utui, Vavau, he lives. He was preceded in title by his father and his father's father. The present holder of the title is said to be a younger brother of the chief Ahomee.

Akauola, the *toutai* (navigator) of the king of Tonga. A member of the Haa Toutai. He is said to be of Samoan descent, the Samoan form of his title being Laauola. Akauola and Moala are related.

Angakehe, a matapule in the village of Uihā, Uihā Island, Haapai, serving the chief Malupo of that place.

Faingaā, a *toutai ika* (fisherman) of Talau, Vavau Island. Perhaps this is one of the Falefa matapules, for his partner is Mapu, as with Falefa matapules.

Fakatea, ruler of Vavau displaced by Tuituiohu, the "governor" sent there by the Tui Tonga Pau. Fakatea is said to have been only a matapule.

Fakatulolo, also called Lutui and Fokololo. A matapule of the Haa Toutai, now serving the Tui Kanokupolu, but formerly serving the Tui Haa Takalaua. The first incumbent is said to have come from the Tokelau Islands. Fokololo is the name of the garment worn by people when going into the sea. The first Fakatulolo of whom I have record was succeeded by his son Siu, who was succeeded by his daughter's son Tukia, who was succeeded by his brother Ngongo. A Fakatulolo died August 5, 1897. 291

wrapped about their waists so that their arms were held far out from their sides. Six men carried a huge bundle of tapa and mats by means of three long poles. Eight women carried a huge mat, probably 12 feet wide and 40 feet long. The procession moved slowly and was bound to the house of George Kupu, who was married the day before.)

Then a kava circle composed of relatives was formed, the bridegroom presiding, the bride seated at his left, each of them seated upon the lap of either of their two officiating *fae*, the bride usually sitting on the lap of her male *fae*.

Only one bowl of kava was served. Following that came the distribution of the presents (*vahevahe*). The *ngaue* was first distributed among the assembled relatives of the bridegroom. The bride's relatives later received their share of the bridegroom's present to her people, at the hands of the bride's father or other officiating family representative. In this distribution of food the ranking members of the consanguinary group received the best parts, and so on in ranking order. If there was not enough to go around, the lesser representatives of the group went without, or the bridegroom's father might feel it his duty to supply food for these from his own oven.

Then the *koloa* was divided into two equal parts and distributed, but not until the bridegroom had selected in proportion to the amount a number of articles to be used in his own house. The bride also chose a like share of the man's presents to her people. In distributing the presents, the bridegroom's father or other official representative of his people (according to some informants it was the father's sister who distributed the wealth) had in mind what each person had donated toward the present that had been given to the bride's people, and each got his original gift returned in double quantity. In accomplishing this return, the distributor often stripped his own house of all its possessions, counting the social prestige of his family of greater value than his material property. If he should fail to complete the traditional remuneration to all concerned, his unmarried sons and daughters and the progeny of his married children lost face and might consequently fail to contract desirable marriages. If the distributor had insufficient goods to meet the demands, he set his household to work making tapa, mats, baskets, oil, and other articles required.⁵

A similar distribution was made of the presents of the bridegroom's people to the bride's people.

If there was great inequality in the size of the wedding gifts, the group making the smaller donation was shamed and lost social prestige to the other group. It is not to be implied that this portioning out of the *koloa* took place in one day. It began immediately after the breaking of the kava circle, but it often lasted a month and even two months.

Throughout an entire marriage ceremony, the bridegroom's father, or nearest paternal relative if the father were dead, was vested with peculiar authority. This office is said to have had no name. He was the proper one to announce the date on which the ceremony should begin. He denied the bridegroom the privilege of consorting with the bride until an appointed time. On the first night (third night?) after the exchange of gifts, he instructed the bridegroom to test the bride with his finger to determine if she were a virgin. This testing was called *moheakii*. If her virginity was confirmed, this man stated the period of time that must elapse before the bride and bridegroom might live together as man and wife, anywhere from three days to two months, the length of the period of continence being in direct ratio to the bridegroom's social rank. A *tao* slept with his wife on the first night.

The specific night on which cohabitation took place was definitely determined by the progress of all preparations. The presents had to be apportioned, food for the following feast had to be ready, and minor details of preparation had to be attended to. Near the end of the prescribed *tapu* period, the father determined through his wife when all preparations would be complete. He then informed the bridegroom that the night was at

⁵ Suggestive of the potlatch system of the north Pacific coast of America.

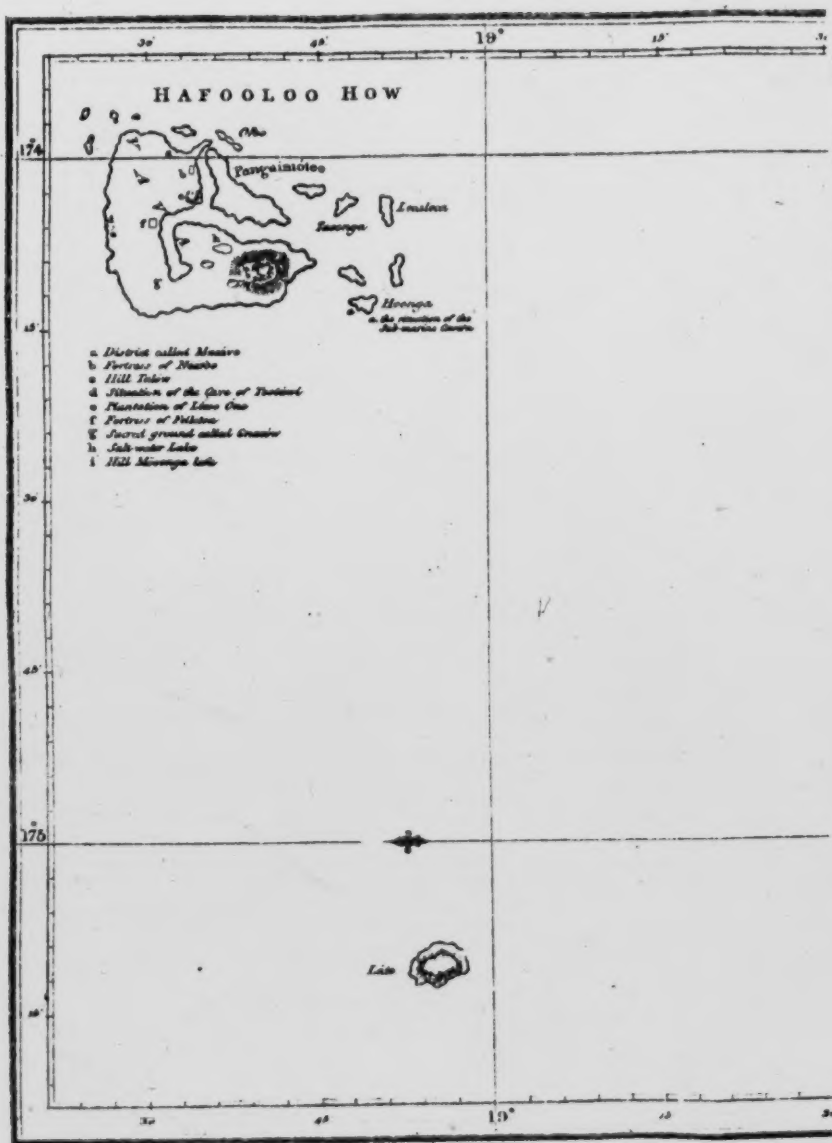
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F-5

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1818

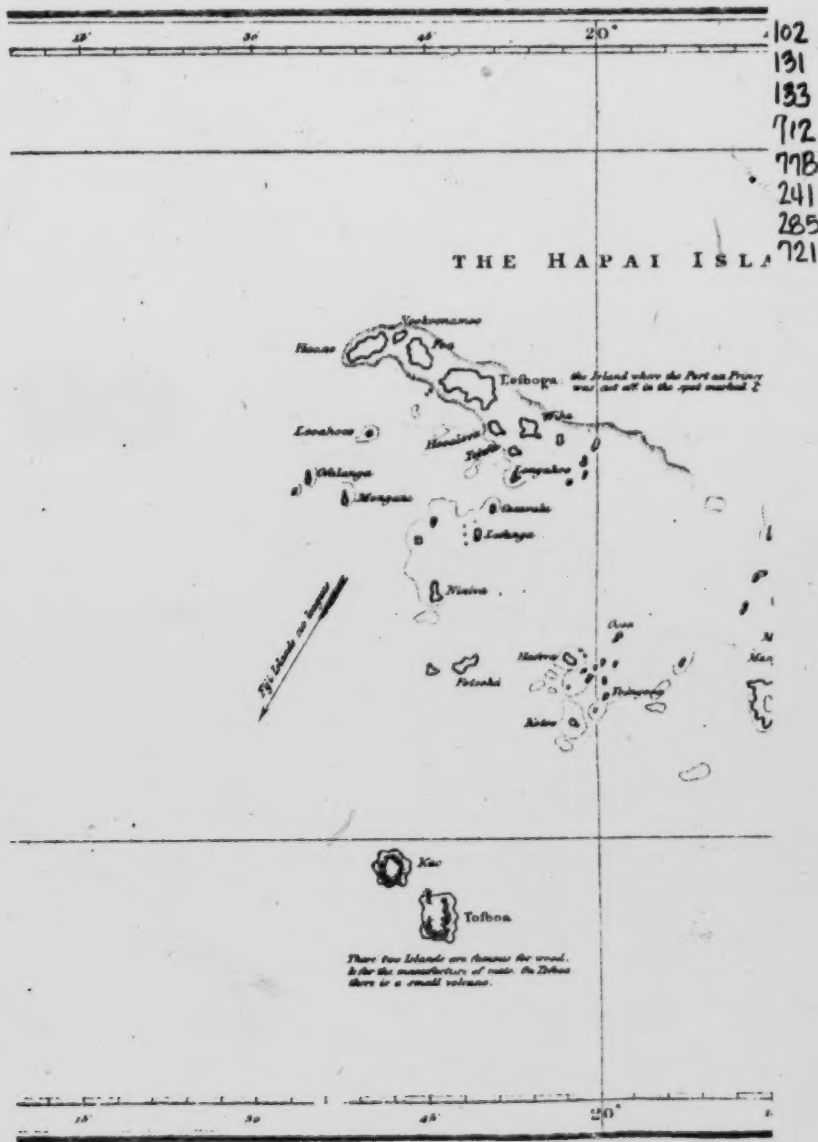
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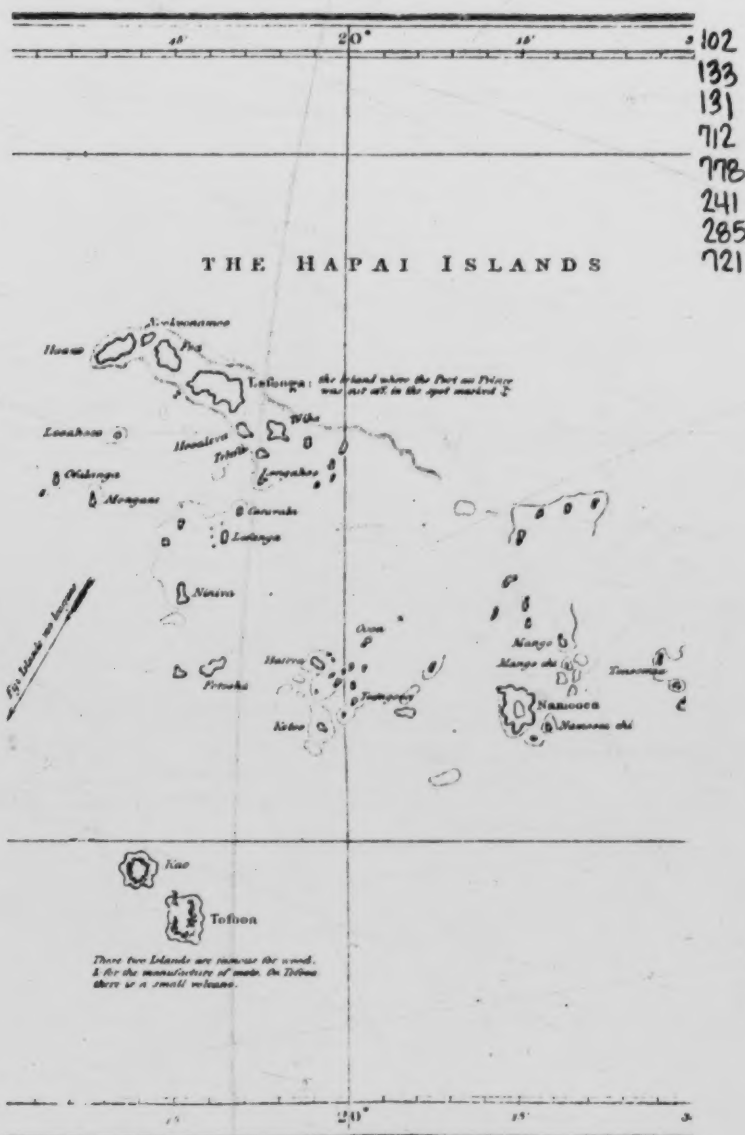
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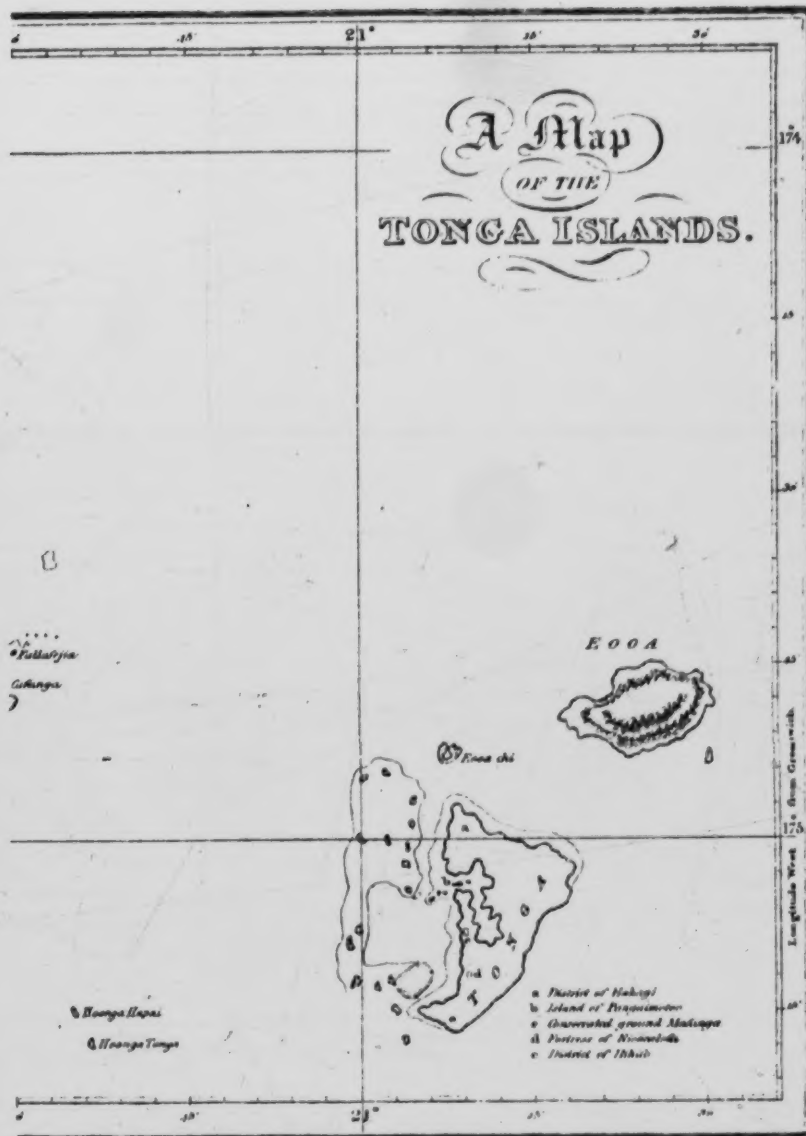
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F-5

(1806-1810)

1818

OU9 Tonga OU9



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[FACING P1-D]

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

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cocoa-nut trees in abundance; the soil is also highly favourable for the cultivation of yams, which grow there larger than in most other places. The water which terminates it at one end is noted for the vast abundance of a peculiar fish which resort to the shores of Vavaoo about the month of July. This fish they call *Ooloo Caoo*, and is about the size of the common sprat, and of much the same shape and hue. The common people consider it a great delicacy, but there is considerable danger of being poisoned by eating them promiscuously, for here and there is found one which, on eating, produces the most alarming and sometimes the most fatal effects*; and as there is no mark by which these poisonous ones may be known, it is always dangerous to eat of them, unless they be procured in the rocky bay of this plantation, where, they say, they never found any poisonous, and therefore partake of them without any reserve: the chiefs however seldom touch them, unless perhaps there is a scarcity of other fish. The time when they are best and in the greatest plenty is in the latter end of the

* The symptoms produced are headach, nausea, vomiting, and diarrhoea, with violent pains in the bowels, to which death generally succeeds in the course of four or five hours. The only remedy they use (which very seldom succeeds) is to cause the patient to drink abundantly of water, or, what is considered still better, the milk of young cocoa-nuts...

226 month of July, when the natives flock to this
 285 plantation for the purpose of catching them,
 where having procured a quantity, they take
 them home to their families in baskets made of
 plaited leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.

423 Mahe Boogoo, the chief to whom this valu-
 431 able piece of ground belonged, being about to
 634 go and reside at the Hapai islands, made a pre-
 727 sent of this delightful spot to the king. Mr.
 423 Mariner, having now nothing particular in
 425 which to employ himself, the war being at an
 634 end, begged of the king to give up this planta-
 651 tion to him, that he might amuse himself by
 609 seeing it properly cultivated : to this the king,
 after a little hesitation, consented ; when Mr.
 Mariner requested the farther favour that he
 might be exempt from all taxes, that no chief
 might despoil his plantation, under pretext of
 levying any species of contribution ; and this
 exemption, he observed, would be no more than
 what was consistent with the Tonga custom,
 which exacts no contribution from foreigners,
 unless indeed it be upon some sacred occasion,
 as the ceremony of *ináchi*, &c. To this also
 the king gave his assent, upon mutual agree-
 ment, that the whole plantation was to be con-
 sidered at Finow's service, as being the father
 and protector of Mr. Mariner, but that he
 would not take any thing nor trespass upon it

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

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Mr. Mariner has forgotten the exact words) ⁶³⁴
 that the *fala* (which is the name of this part of ⁷⁶⁴
 the ceremony) is coming, and that every body ^[533]
 must get out of the way.

When they arrived at the back of the island ^[285]
 where any body may be present to see them, ^[482]
 and, on this occasion, it was at the part called
 Mofooé, every one proceeded to make a small
 basket of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, hold-
 ing about two quarts, and to fill it with sand:
 this being done, each of the men carried two
 upon a stick across the shoulder, one at each
 end—while the women only carried one,
 pressed, in general, against the left hip, or
 rather upon it, by the hand of the same side,
 and supported by the hand of the opposite side,
 brought backwards across the loins, which they
 consider the easiest mode for women to carry
 small burdens*; they then proceeded back the
 same way, and with the same ceremony, to
 the grave. By this time the grave above the
 vault was nearly filled with the earth lately dug
 out, the remaining small space being left to be
 filled up by the sand, which is always more
 than enough for this purpose, that the mount,

* This mode, which the women use, is called *fafa*; that
 which the men use, as just described, *amo*; carrying in the
 hand by the side, *taggi-taggi*;—whilst the general term for
 any mode of carrying is *fooa*.

287 shore, and the finishing operation of *toogi hea*
 531 commences, or staining it in certain places with
 [386] the juice of the *hea*, which constitutes a bril-
 liant red varnish; this is done in straight lines
 along those places where the edges of the
 printed portions join each other, and serves to
 conceal the little irregularities there; also in
 sundry other places, in the form of round spots
 about an inch and a quarter in diameter: after
 this the *gnatoo* is exposed one night to the dew,
 and the next day being dried in the sun, it is
 packed up in bales to be used when required.
 When *gnatoo* is not printed or stained, it is
 called *tapa*.

287 They make also an inferior kind of *gnatoo* of
 [764] the bark of young bread-fruit trees, which, how-
 ever, is coarse, and seldom worn, but is chiefly
 used for various purposes at funerals.

[462] The whole of these operations are performed
 [565] by women: the embroidering of the *cobechis*,
 [413] or stamps, is always done by women of rank.

[391] In respect to mat and basket-making, they
 have mats of various kinds, made of strips of

● 285 leaves or bark selected, dried, and otherwise

[462] prepared; all of which, except one or two of a
 coarser kind, are fabricated by women. The
 following are the names and qualities of them.

[291] *Gnafi gnafi*, mats to wear, of a finer quality,
 made of the leaves of the *fa* or *paoongo*, that

. OF THE TONGA PEOPLE.

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have been transplanted, in order to give them
a finer and softer texture. 285 [291]

Gie, stronger mats made of the bark of the
fow or *olongh*, worn chiefly by people in canoes 285
to keep out the wet, as the water does not da- 237
mage them: they appear as if they were made [292]
of horse-hair. Labillardiere mentions that he
saw a woman of rank with a sort of mat made
of the white hair of a horse's tail. He supposed [177]
that it must have been procured from some
horses that Cook had left there.

Fälla, mats to sleep on, made of the leaves 285
of the *paoongo*. These are double, and are of 513
various sizes, from six feet by three, to seventy
or eighty feet by six; to lie along the whole
length of the house.

La, mats for sails, made of the leaves of the 285
fa; they are very strong and light. [501]

Tacapow, mats for flooring houses, made of [352]
the young leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.

Tallbw, a sort of matting, plaited in a very [353]
ornamental way, made of young cocoa-nut
leaves: they are used to screen the sides of
houses from the weather.

Cato, baskets: these are of various construc- [415]
tions; sometimes of a sort of matting made [531]
with the leaves of the *fa*, *paoongo*, *lo acow*, &c.;
at other times of the fibrous root of the cocoa-
nut tree interwoven with plait made of the husk

● 285 of the nut, and have rather the appearance of
 415 wicker-work: the latter are sometimes variously
 [53] stained and ornamented with beads or shells
 [46] worked in. The larger and coarser baskets are
 generally made by men, to hold axes and other
 tools in: also the baskets used to hold victuals,
 made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, are
 generally made by men.

285 *Bawla*, mats for thatching houses, are either
 [338] made by men or women, but more frequently
 by the former.

462 Most of these mats, baskets, &c. are made
 565 by women of some rank as an amusing as well
 [285] as profitable occupation, exchanging them af-
 [436] terwards for other things: (See p. 95 of this
 [303] volume). Making of combs, the teeth of which
 consist of the mid-rib of the cocoa-nut leaf, is
 also an employment of women of rank. Making
 283 thread is an occupation of females of the lower
 [462] order: it is performed by twisting the separate
 [565] parts of the thread, in the act of rolling them
 with the palm of the hand along the thigh,
 and by a return of the hand, twisting them to-
 gether the contrary way. The material of the
 thread is the prepared bark of the *olongá*.

413 Needles are generally made by carpenters out
 297 of human thigh bones, which are procured from
 727 their enemies slain in battle: the only use they
 396 have for them is to make sails.

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OTHER MANUFACTURES

133. **E homo ae hui a Lafi:** The needle of Lafi will be parted 539
with, that is, will be parted with more easily than the thing 412
that one proposes to do will be accomplished.

Lafi is said to have been the first to use the bone needle and whale's tooth in the manufacture of certain articles. His needle, or piercing instrument, was naturally not a thing to be given away lightly and obtaining the needle has become proverbial for that which is difficult of attainment. (Compare Nos. 340, 358 and 370.)

134. **Haihaija Kae heheia:** Bound up yet wandering about. 539

The thing that is bound up is wealth, and its owner does the wandering about. Tongan wealth, consisting largely of mats and cloth, is tied up in bundles and kept in the rafters of houses. One who is not well provided with these necessities of life will be likely to go about looking for someone of whom he may beg a supply. This expression indicates one who, though possessed of ample store himself, keeps his own goods carefully bundled up at home and goes about seeking assistance from the bounty of others as though he had nothing of his own. (Compare No. 106.) 422 735 556

135. **Hange ha fala kuo fofola:** Like a mat spread out. 539

Applied to a calm sea, also generally to anything with a smooth surface.

136. **Hange ha lali foa:** Like a cracked drum. 539

When the native drum is broken it is not usually thrown away but is stowed in the house where obviously it must often get in the way. The phrase is applied to useless people who merely take up room about a place. 422 829

137. **Nifi eni kae nafa e:** Little this but great that, that is, this 539
is nothing to what there is going to be. 534

The word *nafa*, translated "great", means really the Tongan drum which consisted of a bundle of lengths of bamboo, closed at one end and open at the other, so arranged that half the openings were at one end and half at the other. A mat was wrapped round the bundle of bamboos, but leaving the ends exposed. The instrument was not stood on end, but laid lengthwise, and beaten with two sticks on the upper surface. In contradistinction to *nifi*, small and thin, the drum is used here as the symbol of that which is large and bulky.

138. **Nimo i talafau:** Hidden in the talafau. 539

Talafau is the space between two rows of plaiting on the bottom of one type of basket (called *kato fakaono*) of rather superior design and used only for things that will not soil it. A small article might be con- 285

70 *Occasional Papers Bernice P. Bishop Museum*

539 cealed in this space and apparently lost; it is not really lost, however, but
825 is there all the time. Used of that which seems to be lost but is not
really so.

139. *Papata ka nae lalanga*: Coarse textured but woven.

This is an image from mat weaving. Although the weaving may not be first class yet it will give greater satisfaction to the one whose own handiwork it is than will another mat of better construction. The satisfaction of accomplishment.

LAND CREATURES

539 140. *Foki e kuli ki he ene lua*: The dog returns to its vomit.
825 Probably, almost certainly, a mere adaptation of the Biblical expression. (compare No. 130).

141. *Hange ha kuli fie jikoa*: Like a dog that wants to defecate.

A dog who happens to be shut in a room and wants to defecate will run anxiously from door to door seeking a way out. Applied to a person who cannot keep still in a room, but keeps shuffling about and changing his seat.

142. *Hange ha kuli viku*: Like a wet dog.

The dog after bathing in the sea runs and jumps about with evident marks of the greatest pleasure. Used of one bustling and running about, and obviously bubbling with joy.

143. *Mohemohe aē kuli pea fafangu*: The dog is sleeping and is waked.

This is exactly like our English "Let sleeping dogs lie." The expression is said to have been first used with respect to a great man-eating dog named Fuhububuta, which lived in a cave at Motuliki in Fiji. Tradition has it that this dog, after having destroyed all the inhabitants on his island except two brothers and their sister who eluded him by hiding in the bush, was killed by Maui Kijikiji. Another legend attributes the exploit to Muni. The origin of the expression has also been referred to the dog which formed part of the temple furniture of the god Pulotu Katoa (Whole of Pulotu) in eastern Tongatabu.

144. *Hange na pili efhia*: Like a squeezed lizard.

The *pili* is the pretty little blue and green lizard so common in Tonga. He is slenderly made and if squeezed, as for instance, by being caught between two sticks, would present a very attenuated figure. Used of a very thin person.

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ing where there are a number of big chiefs none of whom has any marked superiority of rank over the others. In such circumstances the work of distribution of kava, food, and other materials, becomes difficult, as questions of precedence are then delicate. 539
164
554
565

495. Hange ha fononga Makave: Like people from Makave. 539

Makave in Vavau is reputed to have had an unusually large proportion of unfortunates disfigured by the ulceration, which destroys the nose. The expression is used of very well cooked food which is compared to the appearance of the victims of this disease. 164
261

496. Tahataha e tama pea papala: Only one child and afflicted with sores. 539
164
812

The original reference is to parents who have only one child, and that one covered with sores. The expression is applied to those who have only one of a thing, and that one is bad.

DEATH AND BURIAL

497. Afia e mala kehe: Keeping vigil in other people's misfortune. 539
764

The misfortune referred to is death. It is proper for the relatives of the dead to keep watch round the body. This expression indicates one who joins the watchers round the body of a dead person with whom he has no family connection. Among its applications is one to a man who pays unsuccessful court to a girl. He spends his nights and loses his sleep in visits to the young lady who in the end falls to the lot of some other wooer. As we might say in slang that is very near to the Tongan expression, "it has been somebody's else funeral." 751
[584]

498. Lau hono fala: His mat is reckoned, or his sand is reckoned. 539
763

When one is about to die people are sent to commence arrangements for interment by getting the sand up from the seashore to fill in the grave and build up the mound over it. At the present time this sand is carried in ordinary rough baskets of coconut leaf but previously it used to be brought in mats wound round the waist and having a large fold in the front into which the sand was put. The phrase means that death is certain. One frequently hears it, for instance, in games, said of a side whose defeat appears to be inevitable and imminent. (See No. 395.) [285]
[415]
[482]

499. Lelei ae ofa ki afitoka: Kindness to the cemetery is good. 539
761

I feel kindly disposed to this person, but it is best that he be laid to rest in the burying-ground and that my love should go out to him there. Used, for example, of one who for a long time has been very sick, so that his friends despair of his recovery and are tired of looking after him.

500. Hange ha mata tae pokia: Like an eye not shut. 539

This refers to the closing of the eye of the dead. The expression is used of one who sleeps with his eyes open, also of a person with a frank open countenance, and of sun, moon, or stars when they appear clear and unclouded. 764
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Corroboration of the course of evolution above outlined is afforded by the form of attachment seen in a canoe of Mare, in the Loyalty Islands, where, although a Y connective is employed, a very short peg is inserted into the float at each side of the shank of the Y, to which both pegs are lashed. This would appear to represent an intermediate phase between the New Caledonian Y and the Tongan U attachment. 501
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171

On the other hand, it is possible that the U attachment was introduced into Tonga by a section of the Indonesoids who were the last-comers into Polynesia. In the extreme eastern islands of Indonesia the U attachment, but in the single U form, is common and occurs in the same Moluccan localities as the *orem bai* and its near relatives. A double U attachment, but undercrossed, occurs along the whole coast of New Britain and in the Witu Islands: in San Cristoval at the south end of the Solomon Islands it recurs and this time in the overcrossed condition. However, in all these instances the U withies are attached to the float by cord lashings passed around the float itself. I incline to the conclusion that the U attachment seen in Tonga, where the withies are attached to accessory pegs and thereby have indirect attachment, has had a different origin as suggested above. Further, what evidence we have indicates that the U attachment is too recent in Tonga to have been introduced from a comparatively ancient Indonesian source. 501
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The story of Oceania contains many instances of the substitution of new designs for old in canoe details; the islanders are receptive and quick to recognize and adopt any detail in the design of canoes of other islands which by accident or otherwise come under their notice. Instances in point within recent times are the adoption by the Marquesans of a plank connective in place of paired stanchions and the Samoan utilization of the whaleboat design in the construction of their great modern paddling canoe, the *taumualua*, displaced in the present century by the long *fautasi*, rowed by many oars.

DOUBLE CANOES

TONGIAKI

The *tongiaki* was the form of double canoe in use in Tonga till toward the end of the eighteenth century, when the Tongans began to substitute the Fijian *ndrua* (Tongan *kalia*) as a more serviceable and weatherly craft. Fortunately several excellent illustrations of the *tongiaki* and a fairly full description by Cook himself exist. It happened that the change-over of types was beginning when Cook visited the islands in 1773 and 1774; he saw both and has several references to each. 501
175
178
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Schouten (1619, p. 39) came across a *tongiaki* off Tahiti (called by him "Cocos Island") in 1616; it had been drifted out of its course and the crew were in a starving condition:

[The vessel consisted of] two long and handsome canoes connected together but at some distance apart. Along the midships region of each, two broad planks of red wood were secured upon the edges [one on each side]; across these [wash-trakes] small beams were laid [from hull to hull] and over them a platform of planks, the whole carefully fitted and made watertight with all the parts strongly lashed together. Toward the fore part of the starboard hull was stepped a short mast, forked at the top, on which was slung the sail; this was of matting and made after the fashion of those carried by Spanish boats [i.e., the lateen]. . . . Their cordage was strong and well laid. [See fig. 189.] 284
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Two days later they came across two other vessels of the same kind and the chronicler records:

The crew of one of them had aboard their vessel a canoe which they could launch whenever the occasion required. [Compare the Samoan custom of shipping two *va'a-alo* aboard] 171

175 a *vo'a tele*, their equivalent of the *tong'aki*, when going on a fishing excursion toward Uvea.]
501 ... The rig of these vessels is so excellent and they go so well under sail that there are few
[17] ships in Holland that could overhaul them. They steer them by means of two oars at the stern, one for each canoe.

175 Toward the upper end of the sail a figure representing a cock was outlined.
501 This was evidently a common Tongan custom, for Forster (1777, vol. 1, p. 462),
285 after remarking that some of these double canoes are large enough to carry 150
531 men, adds, "Their sails are latine, made of strong mats in which the rude figure
of a tortoise or a cock, etc., is sometimes represented".

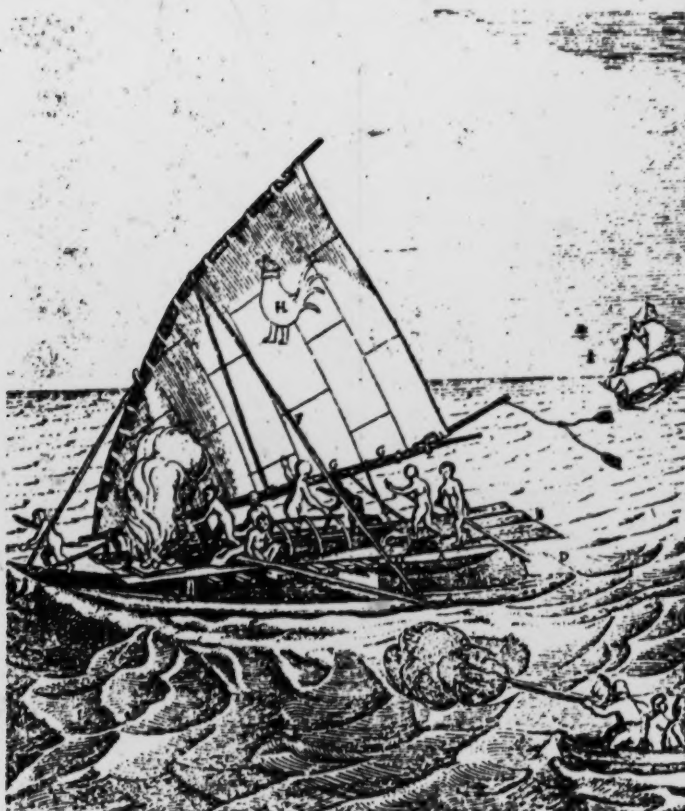


FIGURE 189.—Tongan tongiaki seen off Tafahi in 1616 (from Schouten, 1619).

175 Twenty-seven years later, when Tasman discovered the Tongan islands (1643).
501 this fine double canoe so impressed him that he devoted a whole page of his journal
to the illustration of one under full sail (1808, fig. 2); another drawing shows
two of the same kind of craft at anchor. (See fig. 190.)

175 mirable,—made as is shown in another part of this
281 work, out of the inner bark of trees, moulded, bat-
tered, and spread into a fine stout cloth, which,
fringed with white, forms a very becoming and ele-
gant dress. The mats were very curiously wrought
175 with a tasty intertexture of different coloured threads:
285 some mats were so closely knitted together, that
when laid on the floor, they were a sure defence
from insects, as they were impenetrable to them:
and the insects crept under them, in the same man-
ner as under a floor-cloth, or a board.

In return, we made the natives as many presents
175 as our stock of articles afforded; but especially to
797 the old chief, who was our protector. We always
conducted ourselves towards our visitors with the
utmost cheerfulness; and in every thing that ap-
peared to excite their curiosity, we were most assi-
duous to gratify them with information. We soon
175 fixed up a cuckoo-clock. This was viewed with
797 great surprise, before it was put in motion. Pre-
179 sently, we set it a going; when, out came the cuc-
koo, and sounded, as the pendulum moved, "cuc-
koo/cuckoo." They were filled with amazement,
and for a time could not take their eyes off; till at
last, they looked at each other with dumb surprise,
and withdrew, without noticing or speaking to us,
in perfect astonishment. The news of this surpris-
ing phenomenon, soon spread all over the Island.
They reported we had got Accouhair, i. e. "wood

CHAPTER IX.

A DAY AND NIGHT AT TONGATABOO.

*Mulkaamair's house.—His family.—Bed-time.—
Night.—Breakfasting on Kava.—Subjection of
the lower classes.—Day as passed by the chiefs.—
Evening's amusements.—Dances.—Dress and
ornaments.—Musick and songs.—Superiority of
the lower classes in Britain.*

THE house of Mulkaamair, with whom I resided, was very spacious; its length was fifty feet. It was of an oval form. One large and lofty post was fixed in the centre; and round it, in an oval circle, were placed less posts, at equal distances, which formed the sides of the habitation. Upon these posts layers were fixed, to which rafters were fastened, that extended to the pillar in the middle, and united the whole building with it. The inside of the roof was ornamented with warm beautiful matting, which was sheltered on the outside with a skilful intertexture of the branches of the plantain tree. In rainy weather, screens of matting, called Takka-bou, made of branches of the cocoa-nut-tree, were fastened to the side posts, which almost reached the

175 caves, and left only the door-way open, which was
342 never closed, night nor day.

285 Such spacious habitations are necessary for the
352 chiefs, whose household, in general, is large, as com-
175 posed of many attendants. But there are generally
342 small apartments contiguous to the house, in which
565 his wives and children lodge. One of his wives,
175 however, for the most part, slept with him in the
342 same room, in a space, separated from the rest by
565 inclosures of Takkabou, or matting, three feet high,
595 fitted up to the beams, that went across to the cen-
595 tre post, to keep it upright.

The household of Mulkaamair was considerable.
175 He had at different times from four to eight wives,
592 eight sons and five daughters, besides many atten-
565 dants. The children were all in great subjection
(554) to him, and of different rank and dignity, according
611 to the rank of their respective mothers. For fa-
586 mily dignity, in Tongataboo, descends not from the
896 father, but the mother, owing, it is probable, to
896 the frequency of divorce, and of, illicit intercourse.

175 When the day declined, about seven o'clock, if they
513 were not disposed to dance, they would retire to
513 bed, or, more properly, to recline on their matting.

But when they had retired, the most social em-
175 ployment of the day took place. As they lay reclin-
513 ing at their ease, Mulkaamair and his numerous
521 household, that lay round him, would commence
conversations, that amused them till they all fell
asleep.

175 the Kava to Duatonga, or any of his family, all of
276 whom are considered sacred, they must sit down
574 cross-legged, before they deliver it out of their
hands.

[643] During the preparation of the Kava, the Tomaa-
[516] gee, or principal servants of the chief, are busily
[252] employed in an out house built for the purpose, in
[264] baking yams. These, as soon as ready, they bring
[285] in baskets, made of entwined leaves, and lay them
before the chief and the circle of guests as far as they
[262] go. They eat these yams after drinking the Kava;
[521] and during their meal talk with each other, as they
please, on different subjects.

Whenever the lower orders can procure the Kava,
175 they always drink it in companies in this festive
565 manner; in which they often spend the two or three
276 first hours of the morning. They have this pleasure,
574 however, but seldom, as the chiefs generally exact
it of them, to drink it with their brother chiefs and
175 their attendants. They exercise an arbitrary power
565 over the lower orders, and have every thing be-
421 longing to them in their power, which their sub-of-
ficers take from them, without ceremony, as the
175 chief may need. Though the provision they have
565 by them be ever so scanty, they are required to cook
261 a part of it for the chief; so that they are frequent-
[260] ly obliged to eat the root of the plantain-tree, for a
wretched subsistence, or to resort to the chief, and
beg some food. The chief will send his attendants

226 Fishing with a fish-basket is still sometimes practised
by a few Pangai men. Some four men in the village know
[285] the technique of plaiting this basket from the twigs and small
branches of the *kavahaha* shrub (used also for fish poison).
The basket is about six feet in diameter, three feet deep, with
a narrow mouth. Whenever this basket is not in use, its
mouth must be kept stuffed with leaves; otherwise it will
catch no fish. The basket is used as follows: Stone sinkers
and bait of sea-porcupine are placed inside. It is then
dropped in about ten fathoms of water and marked by a float.
After some hours, it is pulled to the surface with its enclosed
load of fish.

226 Of all fishing methods however, the one most used today
in Pangai is that of reef-fishing by the women at low tide.
262 Armed with baskets and sticks, the women wade slowly over
the reef-shallows hunting for edible reef-creatures. There
are at least sixty of these named creatures and plants that
are eaten. They range all the way from seaweeds to shell-fish,
from jelly-fish to octopus, from crabs to sea-porcupines
and sea-slugs. These reef-expeditions combine work with
[461] pleasure. A group of women and girls spend hours on end
wandering over the reefs, chattering and laughing among
themselves, stopping occasionally to eat a particularly fat
and juicy sea-slug, returning at last to the village loaded
down with heavy baskets of food.

226 Compared with the numerous fishing-techniques and
198 large bodies of fishing-lore that are known and used, even
today, by some of the other Polynesian peoples, it is evident
that for the Pangai villager fishing is largely a lost art. This
would not apply to other Tongan villages where there is easy
and direct access to adjacent fishing-beds. The Pangai man
seems largely to have given up the effort to obtain fish in
quantity. He greatly enjoys fish when he can get it, whether
by his own efforts, by gift, or by purchase. Fishing today
[461] with him however, is a side-line activity. Most of his
working time is spent in his gardens and cultivations.

BARK CLOTH MANUFACTURE

287 The making of bark cloth (*ngatu*) is a good example
of the manner in which the men and women of Pangai
combine to carry out a group-activity. Bark cloth still has

287 A group of say, sixteen women
 464 will make anything up to three hundred fathoms of bark
 571 cloth in one day's work. The length prepared is divided
 461 among all the women who shared in the work. Each house-
 [433] hold tries to keep from one to three hundred fathoms of cloth
 always on hand. This supply should last the household from
 one to four years, depending upon the size of the household,
 the number of gift occasions in which it participates, and
 the incidence of *tapu* mourning-occasions.

287 The stencilling of prepared barkcloth is a laborious job.
 531 There are relatively few stencils to be found in Pangai today.
 [435] In terms of money-value, a new stencil costs from three to
 [426] five pounds to make, depending upon the intricacy of the
 required design. Stencils are often borrowed. With their
 return to the owner would go a gift of from twenty to fifty
 fathoms of bark cloth according to the acknowledged value
 of the stencil. Stencils newly made today show a wide
 variety of designs and motifs. Besides the more orthodox
 flower and geometrical designs, stencils may include motifs
 which range from imaginative conceptions of the Tongan
 flag to the names of the main streets in Nukualofa. Many
 [178] women in Pangai today are not bothering with stencils.
 They are decorating their bark cloth with freehand finger-
 painted designs. The orthodox Tongan dyes for bark cloth
 [386] give two colours only: black and a reddish-brown. Today
 [178] some women find commercial dyes bought at the store less
 troublesome and more pleasing to use. To the European eye
 these store-colours are often garish and crude as compared
 with the softness of the native dyes.

MAT-MAKING

285 The mats made by the Pangai women range from rough
 floor mats to the finer sleeping mats and, finest of all, the
 mats which function as skirts (*vala*)¹⁰ to be worn on occasions

291 ¹⁰ The *vala* which for shortness' sake we translate as "skirt"
 292 (though the word skirt is likely to call up quite the wrong semantic
 285 association), consists of a rectangular piece of bark cloth or cotton
 piece-goods or a fine mat. It is worn wrapped round the waist, hanging
 from waist to ankles or just above them. For ordinary wear men
 fasten the *vala* at the waist with a leather belt; for ceremonial wear,
 with a sennit belt. Men wear the *vala* for everyday use. Men and
 [576] women alike wear the ceremonial mat-*vala* on all occasions when
 respect and humility require symbolization.

PANGAI: A VILLAGE IN TONGA

41

when respect is due to a superior. The materials are pandanus-leaves. The plaiting technique is typically Polynesian. The finest mats worn as *vala* (*ta'o vala fala*) are very scarce in Pangai today. They are about eight feet by six feet in size and plaited with twelve to fourteen elements to the inch. Such mats take an ordinarily industrious woman from two to three years to complete. Few Pangai women seem to have either the skill or the patience to make these mats today. They have therefore a great scarcity value. They are worn only on Sundays, special festive occasions or when meeting a superior. When not in use they are kept in safe, secret places to avoid any possibility of theft.

Many of the fine mats worn today have been inherited. Thus one woman has inherited hers from her mother's mother and expects in turn to pass it on to her own daughter. Both men and women wear these fine mats fastened with a length of braided or twisted sennit termed *ta'o vala kafa*. The sennit is worn round the waist on top of the mat. There appears to be no single and specific technique for making this sennit "belt." Each man makes his according to what skill he has at his command.

As the fine mats become rarer still in the village, it is likely that there will be developed some new material through the use of which respect may be symbolized. Possibly one of the finer and more expensive commercial cloths will be adapted to this end and will become as necessary an item of clothing as the fine mat is today.

EXPERTS

For most of the work activities of this Tongan village no more expert knowledge is required than is possessed by the average man or woman. He or she is capable of doing the task that is required or of acting as leader of group-work. Some types of work however, require the leadership and direction of a recognized expert (generically, *tufunga*), one who has special knowledge, acquired through training, of the relatively complex techniques involved. In Pangai today there are four recognized experts in the making of European-style houses, one expert in the building of Tongan houses; one expert undertaker; four expert dug-out canoe makers; two experts in the art of making the built-up plank-canoe;

Notes on Tongan Religion.

155

from gods of populous tribes down to deities the private possession of a very few. Naturally, the gods of which one is best able to glean information are those whose devotees were fairly numerous. At the best all that we can get to-day is probably only a glimpse at the old pantheon. But this remnant is doubtless typical, and furnishes a fair idea of the beliefs of old Tonga, as well as interesting parallels with other parts of Polynesia. 776

The apparatus of worship consisted of a temple, apparently in some instances situated amongst trees just outside the village. Too much must not be made of this, however, as the villages which one sees to-day are of modern growth, and in earlier days the population was more scattered. There was at least one sacred grove. In the temples were kept sacred objects, such as war weapons, stones, pieces of wood, more or less roughly carved, and often painted with yellow turmeric. Several fine mats were indispensable, carefully preserved to be spread for the reception of the visiting god in the same way as a household brings out its good mats for a distinguished mortal visitor. At times of worship these mats were spread, and the priest sat either on or beside them, whilst the sacred objects of the temple were displayed on the mats, particularly, if possible, the animal or what not which was specially sacred to the god to whom the appeal was being made. The role of the totem was to act as a vehicle whereby the god might bring himself into physical relation with the material surroundings of human life. The Tongan words used to express the presence of the god in the object sacred to him signifies his "coming in" it, or "using it as a boat." These material objects are seldom, most probably never, the god himself. This, however, is by now so much a commonplace as scarcely to need restatement in the case of any particular people. Not less was the god actually present in the inspired priest. Evidently there were others outside of the regular priesthoods who were liable to inspirations. To the present day some forms of sickness are believed to be due to demonic possession. So far as my personal observation in Tonga goes possession seems now to be always maleficent, but a native connected by blood with Fiji affirms that in that group there are exemplary and devout Christians who receive helpful accessions of divine influence from sources not usually included in any scheme of orthodox theology. 778 [368] 361 [178] 778 285 [825] 781 778 [825] 781 [793] [753]

There were priests or priestesses connected with the various cults, who acted as the mouthpieces of the gods, and whose frenzied inspiration seems to have been the really important part of the divine manifestation. There are asserted to have been deities without any sacred animal or other object, but the accuracy of this statement is doubtful. The trembling body, foaming mouth, and wild eyes of 781 793 [776] [154]

SHARKS.

121

crowd of people, some in canoes, and still more swimming and wading in the water, making merry over the captives, and spearing any of the larger fish that seemed likely to escape, or were behaving with unbecoming rudeness to any of their weaker companions in tribulation. Amid much shouting, and many pleasant jokes, the whole of the motley fraternity were safely secured; and, being easily obtained when the tide had ebbed away, they were speedily distributed among the several owners of the nets and canoes. 226

The true sperm whale, and other species of the cetaceous mammals, are often observed in the neighbourhood of the islands. Dolphins and porpoises abound; but they are not sought after by the people. Sharks, however, are numerous, and these are caught in considerable numbers by hooks, or, more commonly still, by a simple bait, and a running noose. 226

In all great feasts, the presence of as many sharks as can be obtained, is considered to be an indispensable requisite. They are always cooked entire, whatever may be their size; and they are enclosed in a long basket made from the cocoa-nut leaf. 262
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(574)
(285)
(824)

The flesh of a young shark, when about four feet long, is exceedingly good eating. One of the largest of these monsters we ever saw, was caught from the deck of the Mission ship "John Wesley," when at anchor in Vavau harbour. It measured nearly eighteen feet in length; and, when opened, was found to contain sixteen young sharks, just about to be spawned. It was what is called a ground shark, having double rows of upper and lower teeth, each separate tooth being as sharp as a lancet. 226
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Turtle do not abound so plentifully in the Friendly 225
136

532 evidence of idolatry and heathenism. Whereas wood
177 carving had been done previously with adzes or tools
made of shell or tooth, local artisans became
attracted to the more highly perfected metal
instruments of the foreigners. Strongly influenced
by materialism and other characteristics of western
civilization, the Tongans abandoned the majority of
their former artistic activities, and consequently, the
entire realm of Tongan art has suffered. For the
most part, only the arts of women (e.g. tapa making,
basket and mat weaving) have survived up to the
present day in Tonga.⁷

341 Tongan architecture has obviously been
342 influenced by contact with the west; rafter lashing
177 with hand-braided sennit is rarely to be seen any
283 more, and it is not uncommon to find Tongan
284 houses today with corrugated iron roofs.
411 Hand-carved war clubs and other weapons, as well as
501 the skillfully-designed double canoes, have been
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[p.16-A]



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[Caption for this
photo is on
page 18]

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"Langa Fonua" is the women's handicraft co-operative which has grown over the past decade, with the support of Queen Salote and Queen Mata'aho, into a prominent association. It helps people in villages and islands off the route of cruise ships to organize and send their crafts to the Langa Fonua shops in Nuku'alofa (shown here) and Neisifu, Vava'u to be sold to tourists.

'Oku lele lelei 'aupito 'a Langa Fonua he ngashi 'aho ni. Kuo 'osi mahalo eni ha ta'u e hongofulu hili 'a hono 'uluaki kamata 'o e kautaha fakamea'a fetokoni'aki ni, pea 'asili foki 'a hono fai malohi e ngase ni koe'uhi ko hono poupu'u 'e Kuini Salote, pea mo Kuini Mata'aho foki. 'Oku 'i ai foki e falekoloa 'e taha 'o e Langa Fonua 'i Nuku'alofa ('a ia 'oku 'asi 'i he ta) pea taha 'i Neisifu.

[p. 19]





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Eyes sparkling with pride, each of these ladies of the Foa Handicraft Co-op in Ha'apai displays her own hand-crafted piece of tape cloth. The local co-op was formed recently with the aid of a Peace Corps Volunteer.

(48)

'Oku nahino mei he fofonga malimali 'o e kau fefine ni 'a 'enau takitaha faukau'aki 'a 'ene konga ngatu. Ko e kau fefine 'eni mei he kautaha fakamea'a fetokoni'aki 'i Foa, Ha'apai. Na'e kameta e kautaha ni 'e ha toko taha ngaue 'ofa mei 'Amerika (Peace Corps).

Mat weaving is a very important part of life in Tonga today. In addition to being used everyday for floor covering and bedding, mats are also traditionally presented on all special occasions (e.g. weddings, births, funerals). Most weaving materials come from a variety of species of the pandanus plant. In the photo at right, Halamehi Tu'imane skillfully weaves an edging into her newly-woven *fofaha* (single thickness) mat in Ha'atu'a, 'Eua.

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'Oku kai fai fahi e lalanga 'i Tonga he ngaahi 'aho ni. 'Oku ngaue'aki foki e fala ke fakiki 'aki ha fala, pea hoko foki ko e me'a'ofa 'i ha taimi 'oku fai ai ha mali, fa'ele pe ko ha putu. Ko e ngaahi lou'akau kahekehe 'oku fai 'aki e lalanga. 'Oku ha 'i he ta 'i to'omata'u 'a Halamehi Tu'imane 'oku fai 'ene lalanga lotaha 'i Ha'atu'a, 'Eua.

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59: Gerstle Raitt

C.Q-4,5

(1952-1972) 1974

009

Tonga

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[p. 28]

592 members to make adequate contributions of goods and labor
511 on a wide range of ceremonial occasions that occur at
476 irregular intervals throughout the year such as feasts,
621 funerals, and weddings. There is a class of goods called
koloa ('treasure') that come into play only on ceremonial
[285] occasions. These consist mainly of finely-woven mats of
[287] various kinds (kie, fihi, and neafineafi) and decorated
[554] tapa-cloth (ngatu). Koloa, which is amassed through
[431] manufacture by women of the household or through previous
ceremonial prestation to members of the household, is
used to express status relations between giver and
receiver on occasions such as weddings and funerals.⁷
[431] If one does not have koloa, one cannot participate in
ceremonial exchanges, and not to do so is to be outside
the system of rights and obligations that are the founda-
tion of anfa faka-Tonga ('the Tongan way'). Similarly,
592 to participate in the community, a household must give
621 feasts and contribute to others' feasts. Contributions
476
574 consist mainly of appropriate livestock or other foods:
[262] pigs, chickens, lobsters, tinned beef, yams, watermelon
--in sum, feast food. To some extent, services such as
assistance in preparing and serving the feast can be

7 For descriptions of ceremonial exchanges in Tonga, see Aoyagi (1966: 167-172), Beaglehole (1941: 91-98), and Collocott (1923: 221-225).

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

126

592 substituted for contributions of food. Especially close
621 friends and relatives will usually provide both goods and
476
574 services.

574 It may be useful at this point to describe what is
involved in hosting a feast, for the magnitude of the
undertaking must be appreciated in order to understand
the significance of feasting in the organization of

• [285] Tongan society at the local level. Feasts are served on
pola, mats of woven coconut-leaf about eight feet long
by three feet wide, at which eight to ten people can be
seated. A feast is described in terms of the number of
pola, which gives an indication of the number of guests,
and evaluated in terms of the number and size of the
pigs presented, for this is the criterion of lavishness.
Most feasts in Motulahi had from two to four pola. An
adequate pola at a feast in Motulahi would generally
include three or four suckling pigs and about the same
number of large yams and bundles of lū (a cooked food).⁸

[248]⁸ The most lavish pola that I ever saw was one of five
prepared by the people of Motulahi for the national feast
held on the occasion of the visit to Tonga of Queen
Elizabeth of England (see Chapter VI). That pola comprised
the following items, piled to a height of about twenty
inches: 9 spit-roasted suckling pigs, ranged in two rows
down the middle of the pola, tail to snout; 13 large
pieces of pork from one big pig, cooked by steaming in an
earth oven; 9 bundles of lū kapa pulu (lū is a kind of
steamed food, prepared by wrapping about 3-lb. of filling,
in this case tinned corned beef--kapa pulu--in taro leaves

602 Although . . . the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the
592 expression of social relationships, social behaviour is not constrained by the
171 prior existence of kinship corporations. It is not so much that the Sinhalese
order their economic lives in accord with kinship relations as that their
kinship relations are an expression of the way in which they order their
economic lives (1960:123).

592 The resources available to the Tongan household must be sufficient
to provide for three types of expenditures: expenditures for everyday
material needs, periodic cash outlays, and contributions of goods and
labor on ceremonial occasions.

592 The everyday material needs of a household consist mainly of
511 foodstuffs and fuel, along with petty cash for such items as bus fares,
matches, and soap. Foodstuffs and fuel are derived mainly from locally
cultivated subsistence products. (There must, of course, be labor
available to prepare and make use of these products, hence the need for
human capital). Everyday foodstuffs that are purchased include bread,
flour, sugar, salt, tea, cocoa, and dried milk. The frequency and
amounts of such purchases varies mainly according to how much cash is
available.

[651] A household must also have the cash for periodic outlays to pay
[74] members' expenses, such as income taxes, the annual poll tax on every
[87] male over the age of 15, church contributions, and schooling expenses
for the children, as well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing
592 and fabric, household utensils, and other implements. Such purchases
511 and expenditures generally require relatively large cash outlays, which
434 are seldom provided for through systematic savings. Instead, members
of the household make a special effort to assemble the money shortly
[462] before it is needed. Men collect coconuts and make copra or else sell the
coconuts directly to the Tonga Copra Board, while women prepare
[433] handicrafts for sale to tourists. There is noticeably more copra-making
[438] activity and also a well-stocked handicrafts bazaar in the weeks
preceding a new school term, when money is needed for books, uniforms
and school fees. Usually, people try to make more money than is needed
for the major outlay at hand, with whatever is left being doled out to
provide cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.

592 Finally, a household must have the means for its members to make
434 adequate contributions of goods and labor on a wide range of
431 ceremonial occasions that occur at irregular intervals throughout the
285 year: feasts, funerals, weddings, and so forth. There is a class of goods
287 called *koloa* ("treasure") that come into play only on ceremonial
occasions; these consist mainly of finely woven mats of various kinds
[591] (*kie*, *fihi*, and *ngafingafi*) and printed tapa-cloth (*ngatu*). *Koloa*, which is
[571] amassed through manufacture by women of the household or through

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION IN THE TONGA ISLANDS

247

previous ceremonial prestation to members of the household, is used to express status relations between giver and receiver.⁹ If one does not have *592*
koloa, one cannot participate in ceremonial exchanges, and not to do so *434*
is to be outside the system of rights, expectations, and obligations that *431*
are the foundation of *anga faka-Tonga*, "the Tongan way." *285*
287
554
571

Similarly, to be a member of the community, a household must give feasts and contribute to others' feasts. Contributions consist mainly of appropriate livestock or foods: pigs, chickens, lobsters, tinned beef, yams, watermelon—in sum, feast food. To some extent, moreover, such services as assistance in preparing and serving the feast can be substituted for contributions of food. (Especially close friends and relatives will usually provide both.¹⁰) According to my estimate, there were only five households in the village of Motulahi that could afford to sponsor a feast without assistance. Yet, almost every household in the village manages to host at least one feast every 12 to 15 months. They can afford to do so because they are assisted by contributions from other households whom they have assisted in the past. This is not to say that the household is considered as the unit that makes the contributions, for contributions are viewed as coming from individuals. The household itself is the unit in feasting activities only if a member of the household is hosting the feast. Nevertheless, when a person makes contributions to a feast at another household, he obtains the goods from the common pool of resources in his own household. The greater a household's participation as a contributor through the contributions of its members, the more assistance the household will receive when it comes time to act as host. *592*
574
621

SOURCES OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME

While a household is not expected to be self-sufficient when it comes to hosting a feast, it must be able, in one way or another, to provide for the other material needs of its members. To do so, however, the household must have the means of access either to the products of an agricultural allotment or to the income from some job, and preferably both. Without one or the other, no household is viable (although it is true that there is less need for cash away from the main island of Tongatapu, and certainly less likelihood of access to a job). *592*
434

In 1970, 42 Motulahi households had no source of cash income other than the production and preparation for sale of coconuts and/or copra (see Table 6). In other words, almost 30% of the households in the *592*
434
464

9 For a description of ceremonial exchanges in Tonga, see Aoyagi (1966:167-72), Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1941:91-98), and Collocott (1923:221-225).

10 For a discussion of the membership and activities associated with Tongan kin groups at the local level, see Aoyagi (1966:150-160) and Decktor Korn (1974:9-11).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 249]

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TONGAN MASONRY

[173

till it is the length they intend it. The hollowed side of the log of wood is to receive the ends of the unworked cloth, so that they may be out of the way of the work women. They have of this cloth of different degrees of fineness, according to the bark on which it is made; the finest is made of the Chinese paper Mulberry tree.¹ The Courser sort of which they make very large piec[es] does not receive the impression of any platen, but is made on the log only.² Of the finer sort, they have some that is striped, chequered and other patterns of different colours, but how these Colours are laid on I can not say as I never saw any of this sort made.³ All these sorts will resist water for some time and that which has the strongest glaze will resist it the longest.

The next considerable Manufacture is matting in which they exceed all the places I have been at both in texture and beauty. Many of those which are made of the bark of the Poerou⁴ so far exceed those they have at Otaheite, that they are not a bad article to carry their by way of trade. They also excell in making baskets, some are exceedingly neat and they have of them of many different patterns. It is almost needless to say that they make ropes and lines of all sorts, Nets for fishing, fish-hooks and all manner of fishing geer with the greatest facility. But in what I think they most excell in point of workmanship, is in the building their Canoes, for an account of which and the manner of Navigating them I refer to the narrative of my last voyage.⁵

Masonry I have seen none but in the walls that inclose their Morais and their is nothing extraordinary in them but the size of the Stones, some of which are ten or twelve feet in length, four or five in breadth and one or more in thickness.⁶ I examined several of these stones and found them composed of Coral sand and small Marine shells, and therefore concluded that they had been hewn from of the surface of the coral rocks. But even to do this with thier tools is no little work for before they got Iron they had only adze[s] of stone, a chissel of bone; a coral stone and sand and the Skin

¹ *Broussonetia papyrifera*, Tahitian Aute, Tongan Hiapo. The dyed cloth thus described is properly called *agatu*, not *tapa* as in the other islands.

² It was made from the bark of the young breadfruit tree, Mei (Tahitian Uru). This plain cloth the Tongans called *tape*; it was, says Mariner (II, p. 206), 'seldom worn, but is chiefly used for various purposes at funerals'.

³ With a small stick used as a brush, as is still done.

⁴ This was the Tahitian name, Purau, for the common *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. The Tongan name was Fau.

⁵ II, pp. 263-5, 447-8.

⁶ Cook's misuse of the word 'moris' (male's) has already been noted. The reader interested in the remarkable structure of *fa'itika* and *langi* can do no better than refer to the extended account in McKern's *Archaeology of Tonga*, pp. 30 ff.

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TONGAN DRESS

[931

Ko'ooma,¹ small black spots there and about the body call'd ³⁰⁴
² and in different parts longitudinal prominent scars ⁷⁶⁵
 nam'd Taffa,³ none of which are ornamental but marks that show they
 have mourn'd for their dead relations;⁴ the two first of which are
 effected by fire, the other by incision, and seems to be done exactly
 in the same manner as those of the natives at Van Diemens land who
 probably do it on the same occasion.

Their common dress is a piece of cloth fasten'd about the middle ²⁹¹
 either by pushing the ends as they reach over within each other with ^[824]
 a belt of the same cloth, or with a strong roundish plaited girdle
 tapering at each end made from the Cocoa nut coir. It reaches to the
 ankle but sometimes scarcely so far, and they often leave as much
 above the fastening as will draw up & wrap round the body and
 shoulders when they find it necessary. The most usual next to that is ^[824]
 mats of various sorts fasten'd in the same manner, and over both are ^[285]
 often tied a sort of sash made from the leaves of the Jeejee; but the
 people of consequence are distinguish'd from the others by wearing
 their cloth plaited; and to make it a full dress, which is done on par-
 ticular occasions as in their dances, Natche &c, they put over it a bit
 of matt only finish'd in the middle, with the long ends stain'd red.
 There is no distinction between the dress of the women and men and ³⁰¹
 their ornaments are also the same. The most common of these are ^[291]
 necklaces, made of the fruit of the Pandanus and various sweet
 smelling flowers which go under the general name of Ka'kulla,⁵ others ³⁰¹
 made with small shells, the wing and leg bones of birds, sharks teeth & ²⁹¹
 other things all of which hang loose upon the breast. In the same ^[824]
 manner they often wear a mother of pearl shell neatly polish'd, a ring
 of the same substance carv'd on the upper part of the arm, rings of
 tortoise shell on the fingers, and a number of these join'd together
 as bracelets on the wrists. The lobes of the ears (though most fre- ^[304]
 quently only one) are perforated with two holes in which they wear ^[302]

¹ This is rather difficult: *ko oms* does not occur as a single word. *Uma* is shoulder; Anderson's informant probably gave him this word instead of that for a particular fashion of tattooing. 'Concentric circles on the arms and shoulders' was called 'Eetace', says Labillardière, II, p. 403.

² 'Lalo', says Labillardière, *ibid.*, 'Tattooing in the form of freckles on the face and part of the body'. Neither of these expressions for tattooing comes into any other word-list or dictionary I have seen.

³ *tafa*, to cut in pieces, or generally to cut or lance.

⁴ *none of which . . . relations*: Anderson seems to be quite wrong here. Signs of mourning might vary from singeing off the hair close to the scalp to quite savage self-infliction of wounds with clubs, stones, spears or knives; but tattooing does seem to have been purely ornamental. The 'longitudinal prominent scars', on the other hand, may have been those of mourning wounds.

⁵ *kakala*, sweet-smelling flowers of any kind, or the trees and plants bearing them.

932]

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[July

301 cylindrical bits of ivory¹ about three inches long, introduc'd at one
 297 hole and brought out at the other, or bits of reed of the same size fill'd
 304 with a yellow pigment which seems to be a fine powder of turmeric,
 302 with which the women sometimes rub themselves all over in the same
 manner that our ladys use their dry rouge upon the cheeks. Nothing
 seems to give them greater pleasure than personal cleanliness, to
 515 procure which they frequently bathe in the ponds which seem to
 serve no other purpose. They prefer these to the sea, though most of
 them stink intolerably, because the water is a little fresher and they
 are so sensible that salt water hurts their skin that when necessity
 obliges them to bathe in the sea they have commonly some Cocoa nut
 302 shells of fresher water pour'd over them to wash it off. They are
 immoderately fond of Cocoa nut oil for the same reason, a great
 quantity of which they not only pour upon their head and shoulders
 but rub the body from head to foot briskly with a smaller quantity,
 and (unless to those who have seen this practice) it is not easy to
 conceive the different appearance and advantage they seem to
 [565] receive from undergoing these different trimmings. This oil however
 [296] is an article not to be procur'd by every one, and the inferior sort of
 people doubtless appear less smooth for want of that and more
 frequent shifting of their cloth, as it is no uncommon thing to see
 them wash the last though its texture would at first make us think
 that could not be done.

461 Their domestic life is of that middle kind which I believe the most
 sensible part of mankind always desire, which is to say it is neither so
 laborious as to be disagreeable nor so vacant as to suffer them to
 degenerate into indolence. Nature has done so much for their
 country that the first can hardly occur and their disposition seems to
 be a pretty good bar to the last. This happy combination of circum-
 stances is such that their necessary labour seems to yield in its turn to
 their recreations, in such a manner that the last are never inter-
 rupted by the thoughts of being oblig'd to recur to the first till
 462 satiety makes them wish for such a transition. The employment of the
 women is of the easy kind and for the most part such as may be done
 462 in the house. The manufacturing their cloth as already describ'd is
 285 wholly consign'd to their care, and next to that fabricating their matts
 seems to be of the greatest consequence. Of these they have seven or
 eight different sorts for the purposes of wearing or sleeping on and
 [824] many are merely ornamental. The last are chiefly made from the
 [245] tough membranous part of the stock of the plantane tree, those they
 [248] wear from the Pandanus, cultivated for that purpose and never

¹ Whale tooth.

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DOMESTIC LIFE

[933

sufferd to shoot into a trunk, and the coarser sort which they sleep upon from a plant call'd E'varra.¹ There are many other articles of less note that employ their spare time, as combs of which they make vast numbers, little baskets made of the same substance as the matts and others of the fibrous Cocoa nut husk, either plain or interwoven with small beads, but all made with such neatness and taste in the disposition of the different variety's, which are very numerous, that a stranger cannot help looking with pleasure at their assiduity and dexterity. Every person knows the beautifull character that Solomon has drawn of an industrious women and the happy consequences that attend it, and we may almost venture to say that Solomon in that character has included a true picture of all the women of Tonga. The province allotted to the men is as might be expected far more laborious and extensive than that of the women. Agriculture, Architecture, Boat building, Fishing and other things that relate to Navigation are the objects of their care. I would not wish to refer to any thing prior to the date of this voyage to illustrate any circumstance by, when I can avoid it, as it would be interweaving subjects that ought to be separte unless every person knew them as well as myself, but I cannot help relating here an observation which may have been made before, though not to my knowledge, which is that in all the places I have visited in these seas the degree of civilization that has taken place amongst them may be known by the attention they pay to the fair sex. Those in a very barbarous state treat their women with such a degree of rudeness or rather brutality and at the same time indifference that they seem to think them not so much intended as a companion, or to be upon the same scale with themselves, as a set of beings every way inferior to them and only fit for such mean offices as they would not stoop to. On the contrary as civilization has advanc'd we find them not only eas'd of those laborious employments which their natural delicacy of frame requires, but treated with that respect to which they are often more justly entitled than their lordly masters, and have even a great sway in the management of affairs. Cultivated roots and fruits being their principal support requires their constant attention to Agriculture, which they pursue very diligently and seem to have brought to as much perfection almost as circumstances will admitt of. The land about Mooa though so well planted is scarcely equal to that part of the island where Cap^t Cook anchor'd in 1773, and from Mooa to the NE point which is all the places we have seen it is tolerable, from whence one might suppose, if the unseen parts are in the same proportion, that two thirds

¹ *fala* was the word for sleeping-mat, not for a plant. The pandanus was called *fa*.

1777]

WEAPONS AND FURNITURE

[941

pleas'd with hearing the Heeva of our two young New Zealanders (from this change) which consists rather in mere strength than melody of expression. 533 177

Their weapons are clubs & spears which cost them a good deal of time & labour, the first being made of a solid piece of hard heavy wood either black or brown, but chiefly that of the E'to'a tree. They are of various shapes but that they seem fondest of, & which they always us'd in their public diversions, is one shap'd like a lance at the blade but a good deal broader in the middle.¹ These are commonly plain, but a great number of the others which are somewhat quadrangular (except the handle) and broadest at the point are entirely carv'd in that part with lines, little triangles & other figures, sometimes with great nicety, and they frequently venture to make likenesses of Fish, Birds & men fighting but are poor imitators in that respect. The spears are made likewise of a hard brown or black wood (though sometimes from the Cocoa tree) from five & six to twelve feet long or more, generally simply pointed but sometimes beset all round with the ragged bones of the stingrays tail for a foot at the point. They also make bows and arrows, the first near six feet long, slender and neatly made with a groove for the reception of the arrow on its back part. The last are almost as long, being only a reed with a blunt wooden point which they only use to shoot birds with, but what is a little uncommon the bow is bent and drawn contrary to the direction of its natural curve. The stools are about two feet long but only four or five inches high and near four broad, bending downwards in the middle with four strong legs & circular feet, the whole made of one piece of black or brown wood neatly polish'd & sometimes inlaid with bits of ivory. They also inlay the handles of fly flaps with ivory² after being neatly carv'd, and make small figures of men, birds and other things from bone, which must be very difficult as their carving instrument is only a Sharks tooth. 411 [824] [293] [531] [237] 322 531 237

The floors of their houses are always cover'd with a very coarse kind of matt made from the Cocoa leaf as taken from the tree without any preparation. They sit upon these cross legg'd, a posture they are so accusom'd to that they cannot do the smallest thing without being in it. The better sort have often a finer matt to sit on, & the same is us'd as a bed with a stool under their heads when they go to sleep and a covering of the pieces of cloth they wear. Men, women & children lye in the same place without seperation, unless a few who have a 352 285 [516] 513 352 285

¹ The foregoing sentence seems to be describing a spear, *too*, the next one the clubs, *akau*, even though in the one next succeeding Anderson reverts to spears. Both were made of *Toa*, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

² Again whale tooth ivory, Tongan *lei*.

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[July

352 stiff kind of mat that stands by itself & forms a low partition, which is
 [285] also us'd to hang around the part of the house open to the wind in
 [513] bad weather. Women of consequence sometimes sit in their houses
 [562] in the day surrounded or enclos'd with one of these mats, seemingly
 [568] with no other intention than to indicate their superior rank. They
 seem to have no set time for meals (though it should be observ'd that
 264 during our stay amongst these people their domestic œconomy seems
 276 much disturb'd from their constant attention to us), for the better
 512 sort only drink Kava in the forenoon and the others eat perhaps a bit
 of Yam; but we have commonly seen them eat sometime in the
 afternoon, and it would appear that the practice of making a meal in
 the night is pretty common as their rest being disturb'd in the night
 makes them frequently sleep in the day, although they go to bed as
 262 soon as dusk at night and get up at dawn in the morning. The
 greatest part of their Vegetable diet is Yams, Plantanes and Cocoa
 nuts: of their animal food the chief is hogs, fowls, fish, all sorts of shell
 fish, and the lower people eat rats. The two first articles with bread
 fruit are what may be call'd the basis of their food, which they have
 at different times of the year with fish and shell fish, for hogs, fowls
 252 & turtle seem only to be ate occasionally by the better people. The
 intervals between the season of these things must be sometimes
 considerable, as they prepare a sort of artificial bread from plantanes
 which they put under ground before ripe, and suffer them to remain
 till they ferment, when they are taken out & made up into small
 balls, but so sour & indifferent that they often said our bread was
 262 preferable though somewhat musty.¹ They also use great quantitys of
 the Nuts call'd E'cefee at these times, which is coarser and less
 agreeable than our Chesnuts.

252 The method of dressing these things is entirely in the kind of oven
 [415] us'd to bake the hogs with, but they sometimes roast the Vegetables
 [177] on an open fire, and though they have a few earthen globular pots
 they get them from Feejee and are never apply'd to that purpose.
 They are as yet almost strangers to the thousand destructive luxurys
 which cookery has invented, but nevertheless have a few artificial
 dishes, such as a soft pudding made of Talo and other roots with
 Cocoa nut scrap'd into it,² which gives an agreeable smoothness to
 262 every thing dress'd with it. There is also another very palatable sort
 in which is put aromatic leaves as seasoning, and they prepare a dish

¹ This, if accurately observed, is a variation on what Mariner, II, p. 200, calls 'Ma me; fermented breadfruit'. Churchward pleasantly defines *me* as 'a kind of ensilage (but for human consumption)'; *mei* is breadfruit. Anderson in his own vocabulary explains 'Maa' as 'A sour plantain, by being put underground'.

² *po'si*.

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THE TONGANS

[1037

Cups made of the Cocoa nut shells, wooden bowls of various sizes, different kind of Vessels made of Clay, Baskets of different Kinds, made of the rind of the Cocoa nut, Bundles of Cloth & fine Matts and their Arms, which consist of Clubs some of which are curiously carved, others plain, most of them made of wood, some few of Stone, Spears which are generally pointed with the Tail of the Sting ray, & 3 pronged Darts and Bows and Arrows which can answer very little purpose in War, their Arrows being too long & the Bows too weak; a Groove large enough to receive the arrow which is made of Cane runs along the inside of the Bow. They keep their arrows in long quivers made of large Hollow Bamboo.

The Places set apart for burying the dead are raised with Gravel about a foot or two above the level of the Ground, on which stand two or three Houses which are constantly shut up but contain nothing in them; these Cemeteries called in their Language Dano¹ are kept very neat & clean & the Indians were generally displeased at our approaching them. Besides these there are others raised of Stones which are the burying places of the Chiefs & are called Fyntoeke.² They have also spots set apart for burying their little fingers which they cut off & for their Children's navel strings, these are raised in the public highway & in size & appearance much like a Country Cock-pit, they call them Ejee.³ Their Manufactures are of various kinds, that of the cloth is the principal, their manner of preparing it differs nothing material from that of the Otaheiteans, tho' it is painted afterwards quite different. They spread over it a kind of brown gummy Substance which gives the Cloth a glazed appearance which might be mistaken for Silk at a little distance; the brown Cloth is the most common & they have not many Varieties of Patterns, it has something of the substance & stiffness of Buckram & it is the general Clothing of both Sexes. Another considerable manufacture is that of Matting of which they have many different Sorts, some white others variegated with black & executed in a very neat & elegant manner, others strong & Coarse; the finest sort they use for Cloathing & to sit upon on extraordinary Occasions, the others are used for sails to their Canoes & to cover the floors of their Houses.

¹ *Dano*. It is curious that nobody else from the voyage reports this word. *Tano*, a cemetery in general; *fa'itaka*, the circular burial places of the chiefs; *langi*, the rectangular, stone-built tombs of the Tu'i Tonga and Tamaha.

² *sic*; *fa'itaka*. Samwell's 'Fyn-' may be a slip for 'Fya-'.

³ *asi*, 'rest mound'. But Samwell has certainly his information back to front. Some fingers and navel strings may have been buried on some rest mound, but the mounds were not made for that purpose. Some were buried in mounds of their own. The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.—Gifford, *Tongan Society* (1929), p. 185.

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SAMWELL'S JOURNAL

[June

283 Their Cordage is another considerable article which they make of the rind of the Cocoa nut. Some of this they have of a thickness of a
 [226] 4 or 5 inch rope, which is used in the rigging of their Canoes; fishing
 [286] & other small Lines they make exceeding neat and strong from the Fibres of a Plant¹ & of these Lines they make excellent fishing Nets.

285 These people excell in making baskets, of which they have 3 or four different Sorts & sizes all made of the rind of the Cocoa nut; one kind is made very strong which is that in most common use, another which is more for Shew are made exceedingly neat & beautiful with white beads & sometimes red feathers worked in them, these we esteemed as some of the greatest Curiosities among them; a third sort are constructed in an odd manner & have a very antique Appearance which made us compare them to Cathedrals²—they have other Sorts still but those above mentioned are the principal. Their other
 391 Manufactures consist of their weapons of war which have been
 442 already mentioned, their fishing Tackle of various Sorts, much like those of Otaheite, their working Tools which consists of an Adz
 301 made of blue Stone, a Shark's Tooth fastened to the end of a Stick for a graving Tool, and Files and their Jewellery, such as Necklaces of
 306 various Sorts, some made of small shells of various colours & prettily
 297 disposed, others of the Legs of fowls, which however odd they may Sound, these people contrive to make into ornaments for their women's Necks and are no bad ones.

501 Their Canoes are of two Sorts, double & single and of a very curious construction & well finished & must cost them much Labour, they consist of several pieces of plank very ingeniously adapted to each other & sewed together on the inside of the Canoe; the single ones are in general large enough to hold six people, have an outrigger to them & are covered over with a deck at the Head and Stern under
 [531] which they stow the different articles they carry in them. On these decks they fasten 10 or a dozen white Shells as ornaments & at the stern there is a Support for a fishing rod which they generally carry along with them. The double or sailing Canoes are built large & strong with a Stage, on which a Hut is built. Some of them are capable of carrying 80 or 100 Men & can keep the Sea a long time
 [285] in these Latitudes. Their Sails are made of strong Matting & have
 [531] generally the Image of a Cock upon them.

534 Their musical Instruments consist of a Flute, a small instrument called by the Natives Meemeeah,³ and Drums. The Flute is made

¹ Tou, *Pipturus argenteus*; or Fau, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.

² It is hard to guess what Samwell means by this—perhaps the top edge of some baskets, like an immense saw-tooth.

³ *mimihe*, Pan-pipe.

[436 cont.]

175 tortoise-shell, but in shape exactly resembling the Taheitee fish-
439
237 hooks, called witte-witte (11); some of which were near seven inches

227
171 11. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p.218. Also Parkinson's
Journal, p. 77, and Tab. XIII. fig 25.

175 long. They likewise bought their shells, which hung on the breast,
439
301 their necklaces, bracelets of mother of pearl, and cylindrical sticks
[237] for the ear. They had the neatest ornamental combs that can be
[824] imagined, consisting of a number of little flat sticks about five inches
[531] long, of a yellow wood like box, most firmly and elegantly connected
together at the bottom by a tissue of the fibres of coco-nut, some
of which were of their natural colour, and others dyed black.

175 These fibres were likewise employed [437] in making a great variety
285
531 of baskets, wrought with regular compartments of two colours, brown
and black, or sometimes all brown, and ornamented with rows of
round flat beads, which were made by cutting pieces of shells into
that shape. The taste and the workmanship of these baskets were
elegant in the highest degree, and varied into different forms and

175 patterns. Those little stools, which serve as pillows for the head,
171
515 were much more frequent here than at Taheitee; flattish bowls, in
415 which they place their meat, and spatulas with which they mix up
824 the bread-fruit paste, were likewise in great abundance, and
made of the club-wood (casuarina equistifeolia), which had this
name from supplying all the islanders in the South Sea with

175 weapons. The clubs of the people of this isle, were of an infinite
411 variety of shapes, and many of them so ponderous that we could scarce
manage them with one hand; the most common form was quadrangular,
so as to make a rhomboid at the broad end, and gradually tapering
into a round handle at the other. But many were spatulated, flattish,

Yuncker—Plants of Tonga

49



142
291

FIGURE 7.—Tongan man wearing the apron-like *tautala* of woven *Pandanus* leaves. The *tautala*, a characteristic and unique part of the Tongan dress, is worn by both sexes.

Tongatapu: Cook; on uplifted coral plateau near sea at Houma, forming a distinct zone with dense growth, Oct. 28, 1951, Hürlimann 12; in thicket along rocky coast at Hufangalupe, Feb. 26, 1953, Yuncker 15067.

137

'Eua: margin of forest, near central part of eastern coastal ridge, Mar. 24, 1953, Yuncker 15459.

Vava'u: Crosby.

Common throughout Tonga on the lower terraces near the sea or on sea-facing cliffs. Polynesia to southern Asia.

Tongan name: *fa*.

The leaf fibers are much used in mat and basket weaving (fig. 7). The fruit segments may be chewed and used as food during times of food scarcity.

824
285

An interesting discussion of the status of the binominal *Pandanus tectorius*,

137 usually now preferred to *P. odoratissimus*, is found in Merrill's report on Cook's Voyages (Chron. Bot. 14: 354-356, 1954).

Martelli (Univ. Calif. Pub. Bot. 12: 356 ff., 1930) lists the following varieties and species as occurring in Tonga.

Pandanus odoratissimus L. f. [= *tectorius* Parkinson] var. *savaiensis* forma major Martelli.

'Eua: Powell plantation, June-July 1926, Parks 16292.

Pandanus odoratissimus var. *pseudo-linnaei* Martelli.

Tongatapu: Vahe Ha'ake, near houses, June 21, 1926, Setchell and Parks 15359.

Tongan name: *fa hina*.

Pandanus odoratissimus var. *setchellii* Martelli.

Tongatapu: belt of trees at Hufangalupe, June 28, 1926, Setchell and Parks 15437, 15441.

Tongan names: *fa hina*, *hingano*.

Pandanus odoratissimus var. *pyriformis* Martelli.

Tongatapu: Nuku'alofa, Aug. 1926, Setchell and Parks 15644.

Tongan name: *fa vula*.

Pandanus odoratissimus var. *sinensis* Warburg.

Vava'u: Setchell 15651.

Tongan name: *falahola*.

Pandanus whitmeeanus Martelli.

Tongatapu: Setchell and Parks 15650.

Tongan name: *paogo*.

Pandanus corallinus Martelli.

Tongatapu: June 1926, Setchell and Parks 15420.

Tongan name: *fa kula*.

[824] Additional Tongan names furnished were said to represent different forms
[285] recognized by the Tongans: *fafa*, *loukie* [used for weaving thin, soft mats],
loutotolo [leaves not spiny], *tofua*, *tapahina* [leaves white-striped = *P. veitchii*
Hort. ?], *tutuila* [leaves not spiny]. Specimens of these additional forms were
not collected.

FAMILY POTAMOGETONACEAE

Genus *Syringodium* Kützing

Syringodium isoetifolium (Ascherson) Dandy, Jour. Bot. 77: 116, 1939.

Submerged herb, stem prostrate, branching, widely spreading. Leaves linear, sheathing at base. Flowers small; fruit small, nutlike.

Yuncker—Plants of Tonga

71

Genus *Eleocharis* R. Brown

137

Eleocharis dulcis (Burm. f.) Trinius, ex Henschel, Vita Rumph., 186, 1833.

Glabrous, erect plant, stems simple, longitudinally grooved, pithy. Leaves lacking. Spikes solitary, terminal, about 3 cm. long, as thick as stem.

Vava'u: *Crosby*; forms shoreward zone in shallow water, Ngofe swamp, on southwestern end of island, May 19, 1953, *Yuncker 16027*.

Known only from the one station in Tonga. India, Malaya, Fiji. *E. plantaginica* R. Br. in Burkill's list.

Tongan name: *kuta*.

The stems are used in the weaving of mats.

Eleocharis geniculata (Linnaeus) Roemer and Schultes, Syst. Veg. 2: 150, 1817.

Stems numerous, tufted, up to 25 cm. or more long and 2 mm. in diameter, short-sheathed at base. Spikes small, several-flowered, terminal, somewhat thicker than stem, brown.

Kao: wet margin of a small alpine lake near summit above upper forest limit, alt. about 950 m., May 7, 1953, *Yuncker 15974*.

Rare in Tonga. Pantropic.

Genus *Fimbristylis* Vahl

Fimbristylis annua (Allioni) Roemer and Schultes var. *diphylla* (Retzius) Kükenthal, in Engler Bot. Jahrb. 56, Beibl. 125: 14, 1921.

Stems up to 50 cm. tall, longitudinally finely striate. Blades rather firm, linear, up to 5 mm. wide, commonly shorter than stem, those of involucre much smaller, scarcely exceeding inflorescence, marginally serrulate. Spikelets brown or red, ovoid, about 5 mm. long, on rays of unequal length, in terminal clusters.

Tongatapu: *Home*; *Moseley*.

'Eua: on dry, red, volcanic soil, in open grazing area below summit of eastern ridge, Mar. 24, 1953, *Yuncker 15443*; near summit of eastern ridge, Mar. 24, 1953, *Yuncker 15449*; in open grazing area above Fuai plantation, Apr. 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15653*.

Kao: on open rocky, alpine slope above the upper forest limit, May 7, 1953, *Yuncker 15926*.

Vava'u: *Crosby*.

Frequent throughout Tonga. Pantropic.

Fimbristylis autumnalis (Linnaeus) Roemer and Schultes var. *complanata* (Retzius) Kükenthal, in Engler Bot. Jahrb. 59: 6, 1924.

Glabrous, tufted herb, stems up to 50 cm. or more long. Blades linear, 3-5 mm. wide, basal ones somewhat shorter than stems, those of involucre usually two, shorter than or exceeding length of inflorescence. Spikelets brown, ovoid, 5 mm. or more long, in short-rayed terminal umbels.

[824]
[285]

Yuncker—Plants of Tonga

75

C. nucifera is cultivated throughout the world in tropical countries for its many useful properties. Copra, the dried flesh of the seed, is the most important export crop of Tonga. Large plantations of coconut are located on all of the main islands. Trees also grow spontaneously outside of cultivation. 137
245
824
[439]

Tongan name: *niu*. The following varieties are recognized:

Niu kafa: fruit is large and long, but nut is very small; husk fibers are used in making a type of cordage called *kafa*. [283]

Niu kula: fruit is very small, scarcely more than 3 inches long, containing little or no liquid, cavity being filled with white pulp or jellylike substance.

Niu leka: very slow-growing variety.

Niu matakala: base of fruit where stalk joins is red.

Niu mea: fruit is yellowish in color.

Niu mealaue: fruit-stalk scar has a red ring surrounding it.

Niu ta'okave: fruits are very small, some yellow and some green.

Niu tea: fruit is pale green.

Niu 'ui: fruit is green.

Niu 'utongau: fruit is mostly green, husk sweet and edible.

Niu tui: fruit is very large, mostly green but sometimes yellow.

FAMILY ARACEAE

Genus *Epipremnum* Schott

Epipremnum pinnatum (Linnaeus) Engler, Pflanzenr. 37 (IV. 23B): 60, 1908. 137

High-climbing, much-branched, coarse, subherbaceous vine. Leaves alternate, ovate-oblong, acuminate, base rounded to cordate, entire, variously perforated with large holes, or larger, leaves pinnately divided nearly to midrib into numerous oblong lobes, up to 40-60 cm. long. Flowers small, crowded on a cylindrical, fleshy spadix 2-3 cm. thick and 8-10 cm. long, spadix subtended by a leaflike, lanceolate spathe as long as, or longer than, spadix.

Tongatapu: in forest near sea below Fu'amotu village, Mar. 4, 1953, Yuncker 15172.

'Eua: Lister; in dense forested ravine north of Fuai, Mar. 19, 1953, Yuncker 15369.

Vava'u: near summit of Talau, west of Neiafu, May 24, 1953, Yuncker 16158.

Common throughout Tonga in forested areas. Burma to the Philippines and Polynesia.

Raphidophora pertusa var. *vitiensis* Engl. in Hemsley's list.

Tongan name: *alu*.

The long slender stems (called *kaho alu*) are used in the weaving of baskets. [285] ●
[824]

Genus *Colocasia* Schott

Colocasia esculenta (Linnaeus) Schott, Melet. Bot. 1: 18, 1832. 137

Acaulescent, tuber-forming herb. Leaves ovate-cordate, peltate, entire, acute to acuminate, of various sizes but mostly 30 cm. or more long, petiole sheathing at base. Flowers small, on a fleshy spadix surrounded by a yellowish or reddish spathe. 262
824

4 Bernice P. Bishop Museum—Occasional Papers IX, 9

342 *kaho* sticks are placed in position around the sides of the house and bound with *kafa*, to form a siding which is called *lu kaho*.

The door (*mataba*) of a Tongan house is made from coconut leaves plaited and tied together, and is arranged to pull up and down [352] (*bola*). The floor is made by leveling the earth on which the house stands and covering it first with dry coconut leaves, then with very [285] young coconut leaves plaited into mats. These mats are dried in the sun a few days before being used.

342 There are three types of Tongan houses: the dwelling house (*fale*
343 *nofoaga*); the store house in which all food is kept (*fale felcoko*), and the kitchen or cooking house (*fale beito*).

BUILDING THE CANOE

396 The Tongans make their canoes from any one of several trees: the *buko vili*, the *tavahi*, the *toi*, the *bibi*, the *gatac*, the *fofulona*, and the *vi*. A large tree of one of these species is cut down, shaped, and the center scooped out. The outrigger (*hama*) is then made from the wood of the *ton* tree, and the outrigger sticks from the wood of the *bibi* tree (*bibi fai loto*). The joins are made from the *tutu uli*, and the *hama* bound with *kafa* which is made from coconut husk fiber. Finally, the paddles are made, a large coconut shell provided as a bailer, and the canoe is ready for the sea.

501 The ordinary canoe is termed *babao* and the seagoing canoe *kalia*.

NATIVE METHODS OF FISHING

226 Diving (*ukuuku*). The diver, equipped with a one-pronged spear, dives down beside the coral reefs and hunts for fish that may be hidden in the caves of the reef. Sometimes the native divers secure rock cod, sharks, and other fish nearly as large as themselves.

Fish traps (*ba ika*). These are built by placing sticks in a circle, fence-fashion, leaving a gate or door into the circle. To a long creeper (*valai*), used as a rope, are attached split coconut leaves to act as wings or guides. The fish get inside these guides and follow them into the trap. The fence is erected in the tide and inspected when the tide is low.

Turtle nets (*kupega fouu*). These are made from coconut string (*kafa*), and are placed in the center of passages in the reef to trap the fish.

6 Bernice P. Bishop Museum—Occasional Papers IX. 9

226 Fish nets (*finaki*). A fish net is made from the leaves of the
[286] coconut palm. The roots are plaited into a round net very much like
a lobster net; when ready it is sunk in the sea, weighed down by a
stone or some heavy weight. The fish swim into an opening in the net.

USES OF THE COCONUT PALM

824 The coconut tree is considered by the natives to be the most useful
tree in Tonga. It is indispensable in house building, and the number
[581] of articles made from its wood and leaves is remarkable. The heart
[278] of the tree is used for making walking sticks, the bark for medicine,
[226] the roots for a kind of fish net called *finaki*, the leaves for baskets,
[288] thatching houses, and making mats and flooring. The uses of the
[342] fruit are innumerable.
[353]

824 As a medicine the fruit is given to pregnant women to increase
the supply of breast milk. For this the green nuts are used. A new-
[853] born child is always given *namoa*, which is made from the roasted
[843] flesh of the ripe nut. This roasted flesh is chewed by someone,
usually a woman, and when taken from the mouth is rolled in a piece
of *fetaaki*, squeezed, and the juice given to the child. This is his
only food for four days.

824 Ripe coconuts are valuable for copra, which is the dried flesh.
[439] This is sold to European markets largely, where it is used for soap,
[314] candles, oils, and a variety of products. The shells of the coconut are
[415] burned and made into charcoal (*malala*) for ironing. Kava cups also
are made from the shells.

824 No native food is considered complete without the presence of
[262] coconut in one form or another. Yams, fish, and bananas are usually
[252] cooked in the milk extracted from the flesh of the ripe coconut and
strained through coconut fiber.

824 Brooms are made from the ribs of the leaf, and the leaf stem is
[412] used for stirring oil, also as weights for tapa which is spread on the
[287] ground for printing. The bark (*kaka*), which surrounds the leaves
[415] at the body of the palm, is used to make bags for wrapping arrow-
root and medicines.

The several varieties of coconut palms have different uses.

VARIETIES OF COCONUT PALMS

245 KAPA. The nut is gathered when green and husked, the husk put in a native
[824] oven and left for two weeks, after which it is taken out and beaten to re-
[285] move all the dust. The fiber thus obtained is plaited into mats.

Animals.—Plants.—Exports.

87

than the way in which they noose sharks; instances of sharks attacking natives are very rare. Whales are sometimes caught. Turtles are also plentiful. Perhaps the most interesting creature in Tonga is a land-tortoise, now kept in the Palace grounds at Nuku'alofa, and reputed to have been left by Captain Cook; it has been scarred by bush-fires and other accidents, but in its old age it is honoured as though it were a chief and is called Tu'imalila, after a part of Labaha called Malila.

The graceful coconut-palm is the most distinctive as well as the most valuable of plants in Tonga. All parts of the islands being very close to the sea, coconut trees thrive everywhere, and copra, the dried kernel of the nut, is the staple product. Other plants which grow in profusion are many varieties of banana, plantain, yam, sweet potato, talo, manioc, sugar-cane, pineapple, breadfruit, papaw-apple, mango and arrowroot. Coffee, cocoa and cotton have been introduced but are not yet extensively grown. Various European vegetables have also been introduced, and corn has proved the best cereal for this climate.

Bananas, sweet potatoes, pineapples, tomatoes, pumpkins and oranges could be exported in abundance, if markets were available. The staple foodstuffs of the people are yam, sweet potato, talo, manioc, kabe, plantain, breadfruit, etc.

The bark of the paper-bark mulberry is extensively used for making native cloth (taba and gatu), and the sap of the koka tree is used for stamping this cloth. Mats are made from the leaves of the pandanus, but unfortunately this domestic manufacture is declining generally, except in Ha'abai. The trunks of the toa (ironwood) and koka are used for the posts of native buildings, but timber generally suitable for building European houses is not found in Tonga. The ironwood or casuarina tree was used for making clubs and spears formerly, and is still used for spade handles and mallets. The best of the old canoes were brought from Fiji, where more suitable timber for all purposes is available.

Kava, the juice of a species of pepper-plant, is the national drink on all occasions. Other interesting trees are the ovava, a species of banyan; gatae and tuitui (candle-nut) used for marking boundaries; Malayan apple or fekika, tava, and the ifi, whose leaves were hung round the neck in token of surrender or penitence in olden times.

Government statistics in 1931 show a total of 2,658,644 coconut trees and 832,655 banana plants in the Kingdom, 94% being owned by Tongan cultivators.

EXPORTS.

Tonga is entirely an agricultural country, being without minerals and secondary industries. It is unfortunate that there are still fairly considerable areas of undeveloped land even in such a small country, especially in Togatabu and 'Eua, and further that several hundred taxpayers have no allotments; this latter condition is mainly due to indolence on the part of some who live in the chief towns, but in the case of the overcrowded islands of Ha'abai it rises from rather a natural reluctance to leave an old home. The Government is now making strenuous efforts to enforce both more systematic cultivation of coconut-growing land and

476 one person has accumulated sufficient pounded paper mulberry
287 bark (feta'aki) to make a large piece of tapa (ngatu)
(generally about fifty feet by twenty feet). An informal
group of women averaging about 12 in number will meet and
conduct the koka'anga to paste the individual pieces of
feta'aki together, dye the tapa with vegetable dyes, and
paint the desired patterns on the ngatu. Out of 24 house-
holds sampled, 75 percent participated in koka'anga during
1970-71 on an average 3 times per year.

The toulanganga is a group of women who each bring
feta'aki to one member's house, make a ngatu and give it to
that person. Each time, the toulanganga meets at a differ-
ent member's house or at least makes the ngatu for a
different member of the group. Out of 19 households, 53
percent participated in toulanganga on an average of 10
times per year, the average membership being 12 women.

476 The toulalanga is a similar group organized to weave
285 pandanus mats (fala) or coconuts mats(takapau). Out
of 21 households, only 14 percent participated in toulalanga
during 1970-71. Most women weave at home on their own,
whereas others ask friends to help them on an informal
basis to complete mats.

476 There are also a number of other informal working
groups organized to build houses, collect vegetable dyes for
tapa making, pound mulberry bark, dig wells, help at the
village school, or perform other miscellaneous tasks. In

241 Granadilla or pasiona (Passiflora quadrangularis) was
245 found on only 1 of the sample allotments along a trail
through one-year bush fallow vegetation.

241 None of the supplementary crops seemed to be localized
in particular regions of Tongatapu.

Important Non-Food Crops

Throughout the matrix of major staple crops and
secondary vegetation, there are also a considerable number
[125] of important non-food crops (Table 34). The survey of
these, like that of supplementary food plants, emphasized
frequency and abundance with a secondary concern for the
areas occupied by the few species which are planted alone
in homogeneous plots.

241 The most widespread non-food plant which is cultivated
247 or at least protected on bush allotments is pandanus
[285] (Pandanus spp.). The leaves or lou'akau are used as fiber
for weaving baskets, fine mats, and other plaited material.

These species are more bush-like than the common screwpine
or fā (Pandanus tectorius) and are found as borders, alone
in homogeneous plots, amongst secondary vegetation as relics
and volunteers, and in coastal and swamp forests on many
allotments. Of the 76 sample allotments where pandanus was
present, 32 had more than 25 plants, 21 had 10 to 25 plants,
and 23 had less than 10. Of the 32 allotments with more
than 25 plants, 4 had solid plantings of Pandanus averaging
about .02 acres (.01 hectares).

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PLATE 1a. 'The Landing at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Islands'. Engraving after W. Hodges.

PLATE 1b. *To'o nima*, finger sacrifice. Detail from 'The Landing at Middleburgh'.

PLATE 1c. Mourning mat. Funeral of Queen Sālotē Tupou III, December 1965.

PLATE 2a. *Ta'ovāla la*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 53.

PLATE 2b. *Kie fau*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 56.

PLATE 2c. *Sisi fale*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 61.

PLATE 3a. *Palā tavake*, feather headdress. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria (4672).

PLATE 3b. Feather headdress. Detail from a carved club. Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (E33465).

PLATE 4a. *Fue kafa*, fly whisk. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 101.

PLATE 4b. Carving implements. i) shark tooth set in handle of wood; ii) European nail set in handle of bone. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 174 and 101a.

PLATE 5a. Whalebone breastplate. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 62.

PLATE 5b. Necklace of white shell and dark beads with ivory pieces. Pitt Rivers Museum, Foster 98.

PLATE 6a. 'A Night Dance by Women in Hāpae'. Engraving after Webber.

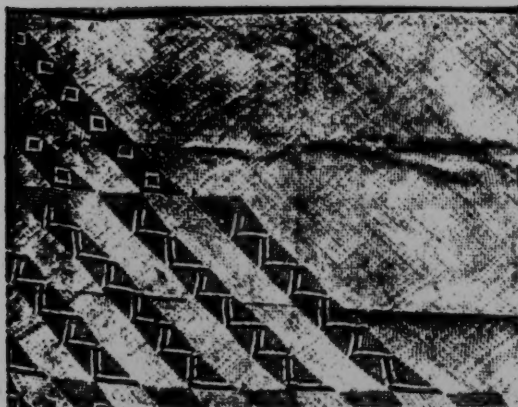
PLATE 6b. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru cranial vault.

PLATE 7a. The Iwo Eleru skull viewed from above.

PLATE 7b. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru mandible. Only one tooth remains in position.

PLATE 8. Pavagarh Dune, showing gentle windward slope, gullying and vegetation.

[Facing End Plate 1]



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PLATE 2a.

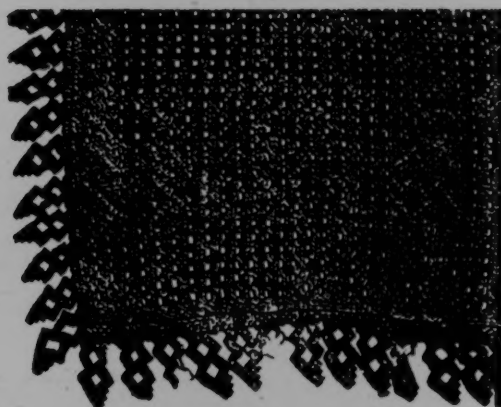


PLATE 2b.

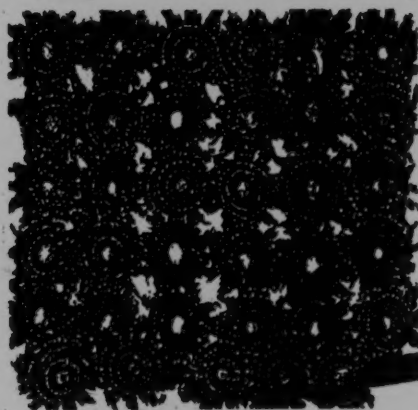


PLATE 2c.

[End Plate 2]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

175 as Cook says, but perhaps his sister's son or someone else of higher *kāinga* rank.
765 Anderson says that it was for a chief who had died at Vava'u some time before
554 (Beaglehole 1967: 911). This is quite likely, as Vava'u was the home of Sinaitakala,
612 i.e., the Tu'i Tonga's father's sister (mother of Latu) and individuals of this line
were of higher *kāinga* rank than the Tu'i Tonga. Cook tells us that to the mourning
ceremony the king wore 'an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand
[292] Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all
dressed in the same manner, excepting none of them having quite so ragged a Mat
round them as their master' (Beaglehole 1967: 140).

612 This demonstrates once again that even the Tu'i Tonga was outranked within his
602 *kāinga*. The same practice exists today for *liongi* of the high chiefs. For example, at
764 the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 it was an honour to wear the most ragged
765 mats, for it demonstrated visually that one was related to the queen (plate 1c).^A
292 Queen Sālote's mother came from the Tu'i Tonga line making that line *liongi* to the
queen—and thus the wearers of the most ragged of mats and the presenters of the
most valued of ceremonial gifts, i.e., fine mats.

* * * * *

121 In this rank-oriented society, material culture held an important place. A few
types of material culture will be discussed here to illustrate the usefulness of des-
criptions and collections from Cook's voyages for research on the interrelationships
of social organisation and material culture. It was historical accident that the chiefs
175 met on the second voyage were lower than the chiefs met on the third voyage, and
565 also that some of the collections of artefacts from the two voyages can be separated.^B
554 These accidents make it possible to relate existing specimens not only to the class
126 structure, but also to levels of chiefs, through written accounts from Cook's
voyages and also through traditions still existing in Tonga.

● 285 The first type of material culture to be dealt with will be mats, which are the
[431] most necessary part of the *koloa* or gifts for any ceremony—be it a societal one or
one within the family (family ceremonies having the same attributes as societal
ones, only on a smaller scale). Mats have an intricate ranking system of their own,
being classified by material and manner of fabrication. All the types of mats known
285 today through fieldwork do not exist in eighteenth century collections. This may
129 be for any one of a number of reasons. They may not have been collected; they
may have been collected but then traded to other Polynesians; they may not have
been in vogue at that time; they may not have been identified by their collectors as
Tongan; or they may simply not have been preserved.

175 In his second voyage account Cook tells us 'they also make various sorts of Mats
285 of a very fine texture which serve them both for Cloathing and bedding. Their
291 Dress is a piece of Cloth or Matting wraped round their Middle reaching from the
breast down below the knee, they seldom wear anything over their Shoulders or
upon their heads. The dress of the Men and Women are the same' (Beaglehole
1961: 266-7). By the third voyage, however, Cook realises that dress is a visual
[55] symbol of rank and adds that 'large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only
wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up with small pieces . . . or the
Maro, which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a Sash' (Beaglehole 1967:
168). Cook finds also that 'they have mats made on purpose to sleep upon' (1967:

^A. [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst]

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TONGA

211

169). And, as mentioned above, ragged mats were worn for mourning ceremonies. However, Cook does not list the function of mats as ceremonial gifts, which is understandable because he did not attend complete funeral or wedding ceremonies—the main occasions of ceremonial giving.

Forster's *Catalogue of curiosities* lists eight plaited items, seven of which are called mats and one an apron, and George Forster mentions 'their elegant mats, which for workmanship and variety excelled even those of Tahitee' (1777: I, 439).

Number 53 in the Forster collection is listed as 'a strong matt, with a black pattern' (plate 2a).^A It is made of light-coloured pandanus (127 cm. × 207 cm.) decorated with a diagonal pattern of black pandanus, and appears to be unfinished if spread out. This item may be a *ta'ovala la*. According to Tongan tradition certain *matāpule* (ceremonial attendants), whose function it was to supervise ceremonies such as installations of title holders and funerals of chiefs, wore a waist mat decorated with black pandanus that came to a point in the back. If this mat were folded diagonally and then wrapped, the design would be on the outside, a triangle would hang to the back, and the part that was folded inside need not be decorated. The only other example of a *ta'ovala la* so far located is in the Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow, and it is plaited so that one side comes to a triangular point and need not be folded.

Item Number 56, listed as a mat 'pierced with holes' (plate 2b),^A is probably one of the items George Forster described in his journal as aprons, 'curiously wrought of mats in resemblance of fretwork' (1777: I, 474). This type of garment is a *kie sau* or *teunga sau* and is made of the inner bark of the hibiscus tree (*sau*) that has been partially rotted in sea water. The texture is fine and delicate, and the manufacture is a difficult enterprise in contrast to the plaiting of sturdy pandanus mats. *Kie sau* were worn as waist mats only by chiefs—*kie sau* indicating chiefly rank, just as wearing the *ta'ovala la* indicated that one was a certain kind of *matāpule*.

There are three different types of *kie sau*. The type represented by the Pitt Rivers example (160 cm. × 86 cm.) is plaited with square holes and has a fringe of tabs sewn on with twisted 'alongā (*Pipturus argenteus*) fibre. A second type with much more openwork is found in Museum collections in Cambridge, Dublin, Bern, and Newcastle—all of which have Cook collections—but it is not always known that these particular specimens are from Cook's voyages. The third kind of *kie sau* has small plaited tabs that form an upper layer plaited out from a solid bottom layer. This type is in the Cook collections in Vienna and Stockholm, and there is one in Madrid that was collected by the Spaniard Malaspina in Vava'u in 1792. The manufacture of these types of *kie sau* was probably discontinued in the early nineteenth century. Today *sau* fibre is crocheted into openwork patterns for similar, but more easily made, decorative pieces that can be worn by anyone. The openwork technique is still known, but the more easily worked pandanus is used instead of *sau*. The functional replacement of the *kie sau*, i.e., the chief's waist mat, is now a soft, fine pandanus mat decorated with red feathers and imported from Samoa. This suggests that when the Tongan high ranking *kie sau* ceased to be made there was nothing of local manufacture that was of high enough status to replace it, and a foreign product was brought in.

But the most precious of all the plaited items to the Tongans, and to Cook's men as well, were the so-called 'aprons of cocoanut fibre'. Cook described them in his

^A [See End Plate 2, following p. 220--Analyst]

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(292)
(765)
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(565)

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(178)

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(175)
(531)

ADRIENNE L. KAEPLER

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second voyage Journal. 'They have ... a curious apron, made of the out side fibres of the Coconut shell and composed of a number of small pieces sewed together in such a manner as to form stars, half Moons, little squars, etc., and studded with beads of shells and covered with red feathers' (Beaglehole 1961: 272). The Pitt Rivers example (plate 2c, 66 cm. x 66 cm.) is made of star-shaped elements, each having a central section and 10 or 11 points. This item was described by George Forster: 'we likewise purchased of them an apron, consisting of many wheels or stars of plaited coco-nut fibres, about three or four inches in diameter, cohering together by the projecting points, and ornamented with small red feathers and beads cut out of shells' (1777: I, 454). One element is decorated with a pig tooth and the thirty-five elements are attached to a waistband that is unravelled at one end. An examination of Forster's account tells us why.

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We accidentally procured a quantity of these feathers at Amsterdam, one of the Friendly Isles, where they fastened them on pieces of their stuffs. These being carried to O-Taheitee, and shared out in little pieces, procured us a great number of hogs; for a bit of two inches square, covered with feathers, would at any time, be eagerly purchased with a hog (1778: 207); when we came the second time in 1774, to O-Taheitee after we had been to Tonga Tabu, where the natives make various ornaments of red feathers, we procured for them not only numbers of hogs, the most valuable article of trade, but likewise mourning dresses, which the natives refused to part with before, when Mr Banks was there, and during our first stay in their happy isle. The rage after these trifling ornaments was so great, that Potatoes a chief, whose magnanimity and noble way of thinking, we never questioned before, wanted even to prostitute his own wife, for a parcel of these baubles (1778: 367).

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These aprons are known in Tongan traditions as *sisi fale*, and were worn only by high chiefs. Parts of at least twenty specimens of *sisi fale* have so far been recorded in museum collections. The usual elements are stars, rectangles, lozenges, crescents, and ovals—the elements and their combinations being quite distinctive. An interesting example of secondary use of a Tongan *sisi fale* by Tahitians is that two elements were used to decorate one of their human images which is now in the British Museum (TAH. 63). These two elements—now mostly denuded of their red feathers—are used for a head covering and a loincloth. It is possible that the element that forms the loincloth of the image is part of the *sisi fale* now in the Pitt Rivers Museum and perhaps traded to the Tahitians by Forster. Unfortunately, the British Museum specimen does not have any accession or collection information. It is interesting to speculate that perhaps Cook collected it himself on his third voyage. The half of the *sisi fale* in the Pitt Rivers Museum is probably what was left after Forster shared out two inch squares to the Tahitians, perhaps for the very Tahitian mourning dress in the Pitt Rivers Museum.

Two parts of another *sisi fale* from Cook's voyages exist in Vienna and Florence. Both of these seem to have come from the sale of the Leverian Museum in London in 1806, and probably originally came from Cook's third voyage. Another *sisi fale* that can quite confidently be identified is in the Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Unfortunately, again there is no collection or accession information, but I suspect that it is the one depicted in Labillardière (1802: 32), and thus collected on d'Entrecasteaux's voyage in 1793. Only the Pitt Rivers *sisi fale*, however, can be traced to Cook's second voyage—probably for several reasons: the chiefs interacted with during the second voyage were not the highest ones; Cook was not present during

[175]

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TONGA

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occasions in which *sisi fale* were used; and those *sisi fale* that were obtained were traded to the Tahitians for hogs, and mourning dresses and other curiosities. We must be ever grateful to Forster for saving at least half of his. There is also part of a *sisi fale* in Göttingen, but according to the curator, this does not come from the Forster part of the collection.

Cook explains the function of the *sisi fale* in his third voyage account. 'In their great Haivas, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made for the purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest dresses are those covered more or less with red feathers' (Beaglehole 1967: 168). No *sisi fale* exist today in Tonga, but according to tradition they were worn by high chiefs for ceremonial dress or dancing. A specimen in one collection is noted 'Kafolalanga worn by the Tamaha and the Tu'i Tonga on feast days.' The word is probably *kofulalanga*, which simply means woven dress. One of the examples in Florence is connected with the Tamaha in yet another way. The individual elements that make up the *sisi fale* are a design used by the Tamaha. The design, a circle with an abstract tree, is said to represent an 'akau ha'ano, carrying pole of a special kind of wood, used by the Ha'a Ngata to bring gifts to the Tamaha.

Also of feathers, and the most spectacular of all objects of indigenous Tongan manufacture, were feather headdresses. These highest of visual symbols could be worn only by the highest of chiefs—and perhaps only by the Tu'i Tonga himself. During Cook's third voyage sojourn in Tonga, Finau left Cook on May 23 ostensibly to go to Vava'u 'to get some red feathered caps for me [Cook] and Omai to carry to Otaheite where they are in high esteem' (Beaglehole 1967: 112). Finau seems not to have succeeded for he fabricates a story that the canoe was lost in high wind. Anderson offers us an explanation: 'The truth probably was that he found himself unable to procure the things at Va'vao which he expected, or if he did get any and heard at Hapace which lay in his way back that Poulaho had been with us he might leave them there, as he doubtless knew the merit of procuring them would have fallen to the share of his superior though he had been at the trouble' (Beaglehole 1967: 886).

Only Paulaho, the Tu'i Tonga, presents the treasure.

[he] came on board betimes and brought me one of their Caps made or at least covered with red feathers: these Caps were much sought after by us from knowing that they would be highly valued at Otaheite. But though very large prices were offered not one was ever brought for sale, which shewed they were no less valuable to the people here, nor was there a person in either Ship that got one but myself Capt. Clerke and Omai. These Caps or rather bonnets are made of the tail feathers of the Tropic bird with the red feathers of the Paroquets worked upon them or in along with them, they are made so as to tie upon the forehead without any Crown, and have the form of a Simicircle whose radius is 18 or 20 inches; But a painting which Mr. Webber has made of Fatafee Polaho dressed in one of these bonnets will convey the best idea of them (Beaglehole 1967: 117).

Two of these rare items were given to the Tahitians—but little did Cook know that these feather headdresses were among the rarest of all Polynesian artefacts. Cook wanted to procure hogs and perhaps Tahitian mourning dresses—but these latter exist in relatively large numbers in museum collections. Mourning dresses were worn by a number of chiefs but probably only the Tu'i Tonga had feather headdresses. Since two were given away by Cook, there was still a chance that one

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98: Rowlands U-3 (no date) 1961
OU9 Tonga OU9

SATURDAY, November 12, was an important day for the members of the Tongan Women's Association, "KO E LANGA FONUA 'A E FETINE TONGA", for it was the day of their Annual Show. Anxious glances had been cast at the sky, for the Show was to be held in the open air and the weather for some days had been uncertain. However, although the day was overcast, no rain fell and all was well.

Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou, G.C.V.O., G.B.E., who is President of the Association and who has not missed a Show since the first one was held seven years ago, inspected the exhibits. She congratulated the women on the steady improvement in the quality of the work which had been shown throughout the years.

The Tongan handwork included mats, trays, baskets of various shapes, dress materials printed with island dyes, Tongan curtains and cushions and articles made from shells. A new section this year was that for baby baskets. Other items were soap, starch, buttons and ornaments made from Tongan materials.

The sewing section had men's coats and shirts, children's clothing, embroidered dresses, knitted articles, patchwork quilts and fancy work of various kinds. The cookery section included cakes, scones, bread, jams and jellies, cordials, puddings and various Tongan delicacies.

Evidence of the various interests which had been encouraged among the

[P.34-C)

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98: Rowlands U-3 (no date) 1961
OU9 Tonga OU9

Part of the Tongan
handcrafts exhibits,
which included mats,
trays, baskets, and dress
materials printed with
island dyes.



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[P.34-E)

181 /29 cont./
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undoubtedly increased ambition, the thirst for knowledge, and eagerness to learn in Tonga; see also the chapter "Knowledge" p. 413 ff.

Just as the Tongan in the past was willing to take over from the Fiji, for example, essential elements of the art of war, (51)

51. J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 72/73

boat building, (52)

52. Idem., loc. cit. II. p. 275.

the treatment of wounds, (53)

53. Idem., loc. cit. II. p. 242.

and the language, (54)

54. W.C. McKern, "Archaeology of Tonga"
/cited in English/., B.P.B.M. Bulletin 60.
Honolulu 1929. p. 122.

from the Samoans, for example, dances (55)

55. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 330/331.

and songs, (56)

56. Idem., loc. cit. II. p. 333.

so he proved himself very skillful, in the course of his contact with the European culture, /30/ in learning and copying in the various areas of everyday life. (57)

[285] 57. Often one notes a positive desire and joy in copying; for example, in April 1952 on Lifuka the author met a Tongan road worker in the bush who had plaited hats from halved young palm leaves in the shape of European sun helmets (helemeti) and policemen's caps (tata fakapolisi).

[153] These islanders are not only quite skillful (58)

58. That is, the majority, not all of them. Just as among other peoples there are practical and impractical types, here too there are impractical natives to be met in their own Tongan life, alongside the aston-

/95 cont./

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[465] It may also happen that such a kautaha will hire themselves out for money to another villager by building him a house for a wage of, say, 30 pounds.

Such men's kautaha are found in most villages. Often they exist for a certain time only, for example a year, and the members then separate and look for other temporary or more permanent combinations. Much more significant in village life are the women's kautaha. Their sole purpose is to make, in a cooperative endeavor, long lengths of tapa and large mats for individual members who furnish the raw material (raw tapa or cleaned /96/ strips of pandanus leaves). For example, 496
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285 [461] seven women will work five days a week (on Saturday they prepare for Sunday) and on each day will plait one mat, so that in the end five women will receive their portion of the work and the next week the other two will be supplied. Usually a capable older and more experienced man is "president" of such a kautaha; he is elected by the group for one year and may be reelected. In every Tongan village there is at least one such women's kautaha, and almost all villages have special kautaha houses for the aforementioned types of work. (270)

[592] 270. A count in the 100 households of the village of 'Uiha (in April 1952) showed, for example, that at the time, in each of 59 households there was one female (wife, daughter, resident relative) who was a member of a women's kautaha, whereas in eight households there were two each, and in one household three females belonged to a kautaha. In 32 households no one was a member of a women's kautaha.

These kautaha are far more long-lasting than those of the men. Thus on Nomuka the four women's kautaha, the largest of which has 18, and the smallest six co-workers, were set up in the years 1922, 1942, 1945 and 1948. Based on the type of work they accept only a specific number of members. If a member dies, usually her daughter or a relative

/96 cont./

476 takes her place (as the family decides).

476 It is difficult to say whether these kautaha are ancient
178 Tongan institutions. Since government officials usually recommend that
the women, for example, make a certain number of mats within a given
time, and the festive exhibitions of the kautaha have a certain official
character through the presence of the "town officer" /cited in English/,
the pastor and the kautaha president (all judges of the exhibited
pieces), and since the election of the president strikes one as very
European in character, we must assume that this form of the kautaha
originated in the more recent period. On the other hand, it seems
(285) improbably that formerly the very sociable Tongan women made the large
(287) mats and tapa lengths by themselves in their family circle. Surely
there were similar work teams in ancient Tonga, which in more recent
times then took on the character of the present-day kautaha.

476 The festivals of the women's kautaha on an island like Nomuka
529 have an important place among the few festivities that are observed
574 in the present village community. It is a festive show of accomplish-
ment which may proceed as follows:

The day before the festival a long roofing (of sticks and coco-
nut palm fronds) is erected for the participants on a place in the
village. On the morning of the festival several earth-ovens are
prepared by the husbands of the various members, with the help of
the women and their relatives. The festival (often called a "show"
(533) /cited in English/) starts around noon. If there is a brass band in
the village it strikes up /97/ and the invited guests of both sexes
(that is to say, a large part of the village population) take their
(431) seats in no particular order. The tapa pieces that have been brought
along as gifts for the hosts are, for the time being, used as seat
pads and are later (before the banquet) gathered up by the hosts. The
show begins. The women of the kautaha (older as well as younger ones)

/145 cont./

117 the floor (which consists of coconut-leaf mats [takapau] placed over
352 the sand or dried leaves, or of boards [see above]) is more or less
covered with seat mats (papa = coarse mats of pandanus leaves,
lou paonga) (377)

377. Size approximately 2.60 x 0.75 meters;
construction see page 305-307.

upon which the finer floor mats and sleep mats of the lo taha type are
353 sometimes spread. In some houses the roof construction is covered over
352 with tapa. Along the walls stand a few crates, boxes or chests,
117 baskets, also traveling bags and often a small food cupboard (with
415 screening). In front of, or on top of, these containers, in which are
kept clothing, utensils and smaller supplies of various kinds, lies
the bedding (mats, bast-fiber covers [sheets], pillows) of several
house occupants, which is rolled up during the day. On a small table
352 there are often a glass kerosene lamp, a few glass bottles with Tongan
354 oil, a mirror, etc. The bed of the master of the house (married couple)
415 is usually partitioned off with a tapa or cotton curtain (sometimes
117 also with a board wall). (378)

378. In houses with an ancient Tonga ground
plan it /the bed/ is usually located in
one of the rounded ends.

Here there are more containers and mat beds or a European-type bed.

353 Many Tongan interiors are decorated with strips of colored crepe
117 paper, photographs, magazine and newspaper pictures.--Such furnishing
are today typical for houses with ancient Tongan ground plan, as well
as for most of the European-type constructions.

352 A complete Tongan bed consists today of a simple sleep mat of
285 the lo taha type, another placed over it of the fala tofua type and
513 a sleep mat of the fala paongo type spread over this. (379)

(824)

379. The mats are made from leaves of various
pandanus species; their size varies from

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(824)

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about 1.10 x 1.30 meters to about 1.70 x 2.60 meters. For their construction see pp. 305 ff.

However, people often sleep on a single mat. There are no specific data on /146/ the sleep mats used in ancient Tonga. It is to be [565] assumed that commoners slept on simpler mats than did the nobles. [178] Very probably the mats are in general plaited more crudely now than [821] in the old days (380)

380. For example, there are no longer any sleep mats of the quality of the old Tongan mat No. Oz. /oceania?/ 141 (Cook Collection) in the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Göttingen.

and the lo taha and fala tofua, in contrast to the fala paonga which is always in natural color (brown), are decorated not only with the traditional black plaited pattern, (381)

[386]

381. Dyed black with leaf strips buried in the mud of a bog for two or three days and boiled with manau leaves.

but also with European colored woolen threads knotted on the borders.

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[177]

Some Tongans spread a European white sheet over their sleep mats; but only a few cover themselves with these or with wool blankets. The majority still use (especially on cooler nights) the traditional bast-fabric sleep covers. (382)

382. Perhaps these are today used more by commoners than in the past.

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The ancient headrests, however, are gradually falling into disuse. One still finds them used by a few older men and women. Some own the typical Tongan headrests (hahapo) made from one piece, very few have the four-footed headrests (kali), the legs of which are fastened to the headrest in pairs with coconut-fiber cords; more commonly used than these beautiful old types (383)

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383. These are no longer made in Tonga and are mostly several decades old.

are the "headrests" (tekihi) made of a simple, angular or rounded oblong block of wood, or the kali papa nailed together out of scraps of imported building timber. However, the majority of Tonga today sleep without headrests; they sleep on the level ground or put their heads on a cloth bundle or on a European pillow that they have made themselves and filled with kapok. In some 30 to 50 percent (384)

384. Depending on the location of the settlement (village near a seaport or remote island).

of Tongan houses there are European-type bedsteads (wooden or iron bedstead or camp bed). Some of the wooden bedsteads were self-made by the natives; on a lacing of coconut-fiber cords (kafa) lies a pile of mats serving as mattress. The beds found in Tongan houses are, however, only partly used for sleeping (with European linen or a bast-fabric sheet over the mat pile and with a pillow); more as a useful object for storing some of the delicate mats. In some houses today one sees mosquito netting.

285 Baskets are plaited in large quantities in Tonga. (385)

385. See p: 313 ff.

However, today they serve more for carrying than for storing things in the house. The wealth of baskets has diminished insofar as the /147/ artistic coconut-fiber baskets, for example, (386)

[531] 386. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative...
[237] /cited in English/ I. p. 108; J. Cook,
[178] Beschreibung... loc cit. VI. p. 283;
also No. Oz. 139 (Cook Collection) in
the Institute for Ethnology, Gottingen.

partly decorated with small shell disks, have not been made for a long time. The baskets made today in Tonga consist mostly of pandanus-leaf strips (of several species) in various forms (some using coconut-leaf ribs) (387)

531 /147 cont./

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387. Except for the small coconut-leaf baskets generally used but once.

and ornamented with the natural-colored brown and traditionally black-dyed (388)

(386)

388. By burying in mud for two or three days and boiling with manau leaves.

pandanus-leaf strips; (389)

389. For their construction see p. 313 ff.

some plaited bags are also decorated with pandanus-leaf strips dyed with bright-colored European dyes. Undoubtedly the baskets now being plaited in Tonga are an ancient cultural heritage. (390)

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390. In principle they resemble, for example, the ancient Tongan basket No. Oz. 121 in the Ethnological Institute, Göttingen.

However, they are probably more crudely worked than in the past.--

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The essential containers for storing clothing and smaller things used in the household, the tools, etc., are today simply old corned-beef cases, specially made wooden boxes and metal-trimmed chests. In

(197)

addition, a few households have European cardboard suitcases in more or less good condition. Closets are scarcely to be seen in Tongan houses,

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except for small food cupboards (with screening) for storing dishes and smaller supplies, with which over half of all households are pro-

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vided. Wooden shelves today likewise serve to accommodate various little things, as do tables. The latter have been introduced in many houses,

though they have lost their European function, since they are used mostly as places to put lamps, bottles, mirrors etc. Very few households have European /straight/ chairs, benches, club chairs etc., and even in the houses that have tables and chairs, people generally sit on the floor beside them and also take their meals there--as in old times. However,

(556)

(574)

the owner is very proud of such European furniture; for him it is the symbol of respected Europeanism and at the same time proof of his

/149 cont./

197 ones of their own, or are simply regarded as "representative." This
 198 change has, however, not essentially altered the ancient Tongan style
 of household living. The great majority of natives use the seat mats
 and the sleep mats, as did their forefathers, and have merely made
 their traditional way of life more comfortable with the European
 198 novelties. The difference between the furnishings of commoners and
 565 nobles, which to some extent undoubtedly existed in earlier times, has
 disappeared. With respect to Tongan cultural assets this must have
 meant a loss in quantity and quality for nobles and a gain for
 197 commoners. The acquisition of European things is today solely
 dependent on financial means.

342 /150/ To sum up, we may say about the Tongan house and its
 197 furnishings that all changes, as great as they may be in detail,
 198 have by no means changed the function of the dwelling. As in old
 times, it is the place where the family sleeps and rests. (396)

396. The set-up of the Tongan household and
 the distribution of houses on the individual
 properties in the village may be seen on
 page 90 ff., and the number of houses in
 the various villages on page 134.

[461] No work is done in the dwelling except the mat-plaiting of the women,
 [285] and the cook area is still located in a separate hut.
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B. FOOD

a) Cultivation

241 The Tongans were and are primarily farmers, and their cultivation
 198 has undergone no fundamental change through European influences.
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Very probably the size of the land cultivated today in the
 Tonga Archipelago is as large as it was in ancient Tongan times. The
 [161] considerable decrease of cultivation in the first half of the past
 century (as a result of the civil wars from 1797 to 1852 and the
 transition to village settlements) has as regards to the area of

/162 cont./

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(372)

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(old); serves to deep fire smoldering (old); as fuel (old). "Towel" (old), "toilet paper" (old) and to clean shoes (new): the fibers are also used to press out the grated coconut meat (old); the juice of green, warmed husks and the crumbly material between the fibers of old husks are used to treat wounds (old); used for making children's toys (sailboats) (new?).

(352)

(285)

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5. The palm leaves (lou niu): used, as is, to sit on in the bush (old); used to make floor mats (takatapu) (old), fans (old), baskets (old), hats (for example, helemeti and tata faka-polis) (new); needed to make house walls and roofing (old); used in dry form as fuel (old).

(285)

(289)

(412)

6. The center rib of the leaflets (tu'a niu): used in plaiting baskets (old) and fans (old) and in making tapa stencils (see p. 328); used in making brooms (old).

/163/

(482)

(372)

7. The leaf stems (tome): used as carrying sticks (see p. 250) (old); in dry state as fuel (old); also used to keep fire going (smoldering leaf stem wound with tapa) (old).

(287)

(415)

8. The bast fiber at the base of the leaf stem (kaka 'i niu): used to make tapa stencils (under side) (old) and as a bag for squeezing medicines and food (old).

(313)

9. The wood or the trunk (sino oe niu): used to make rafters and roof laths (old); used as posts and beams in houses (old?), as single posts on the plantations and for palisades (old).

(278)

10. The bark (kili oe niu): used to make medicines (for stomach pains) (old).

(227)

(278)

11. The roots (aka oe niu): used to plait fish baskets (traps, finaki) (old) and to make cuttle fish hooks (tailpiece) (old); the juice of roots serves as medicine for abdominal pains and headaches (old).

it maybe designated as the most useful plant of the /163/ Tonga Islands.

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Cook reports that he came across coconut palms on Tongatapu "in astonishing numbers." (427)

427. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 237.

/204 cont./

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16,704 tons in 1950 and to 19,222 tons in 1951 (ibid., p. 12); only a few white planters are included in these amounts.

245 Finally, the fact that the Tonga Islands, through their copra produc-
433 tion, have become a member (though a small one) of world economy is
439 having a certain political, commercial and, above all, economic importance for the natives, depending on the state of the world market.

245 Yet the possibility of producing copra is too limited on the
433 islands, and the traditional economic and communal system of the
182 Tongans is too closely knit, and the people themselves are too even-
178 tempered for this to lead to the destruction of the traditional life
177 of the natives. The old, basic economic structure has remained.

Copra and money have become an essential attribute to their former way of life, but still only an attribute that can be renounced, though renunciation would bring with it all kinds of hardships.

D. Plaiting, Knotting, and Tapa-Making

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Most Tongan women even today spend a large part of their time plaiting, knotting and making tapa.

/205/ Among the plait work, mats are particularly important on account of the labor involved in making them and their significance for Tongan daily life as well as for festivities. The following types may be distinguished: floor mats, seat mats, sleeping mats, belt mats and display mats; the "pola" plaited of coconut palm leaves, which are used to make walls and to cover roofs, are also to be mentioned here. Some of the mat types--because of various raw materials and different ways of making them--must be further subdivided into individual types. The following list may give a picture of how the most common Tongan mats are used and made:

/205 cont./

1. Floor Mats

takapau:

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[352] In every dwelling built in ancient Tongan style, the floor (sand) is covered with these mats. They are approximately 1.50 x 0.50 meters in size.

[824] Women make the takapau from the young leaves of the coconut palm by tearing off on either side of the palm leaves part of the midrib with the pinnate leaflets hanging on it; then they interweave four of such "leaflet rows" into a mat (consisting of two joined halves).

The mats are dried in the sun and may be used for about four or five years.

2. Seat Mats

papa:

[574] These are rolled up and stored in the dwelling and on special occasions (for example, visitors) they are spread out on the takapau (in a European-type house on the wooden floor); however, even on ordinary days the natives often sit on them. They are about 2.60 x 0.75 meters in size. Seat mats for one person (papa nofo'anga tokotaha) are today used now and then for meetings (fono), choir practice and in some churches.

[824] The papa are made from the pandanus species, lou paongo. The natives cut its leaves, keep them in a shady spot until they are brown, then remove the thorny edges, cut the midrib, divide the leaves along these and roll the halved leaves into rather large bundles (up to about 100 halved leaves) which they store (hanging) in the house. Before plaiting they make them soft and pliable [412] by stroking them with a shell or, for example, with the bowl of a broken European tablespoon; with a shell splinter or a piece of tin

/205 cont./

285
[412] they cut them into strips from which they then plait the papa.

3. Sleeping Mats

lo taha:

[513] The lo taha is the most ordinary sleeping mat and often serves as the bottom mat of a complete bed for girls, women and men. It is also /206/ placed over the papa as a seat mat. On journeys (by boat) it is usually the only sleeping pad. Its size fluctuates around 1.80 x 1.10 meters.

[824] The lo taha is generally made of the pandanus species lou tofua. From the cut leaves the natives remove the thorny edges and part of the midrib with a knife; then they roll the leaves into rather large bundles (of about 40 leaves each) until the leaves change color. Thereupon the leaves are dried in the sun (about four to six days). Then they divide them along the midrib into two halves and store these rolled up (as many as 100 halves per roll) or separately. [412] Before plaiting them they draw a mussel shell or the bowl of a spoon over the leaf halves thus prepared, make them soft and pliable and cut them into narrow strips with a sharp shell splinter, a small piece of tin or a knife. The lo taha are often ornamented with [386] interwoven uniform black strips which have been suitably dyed by [824] being buried in the mud of a bog (for about three days) and boiled [531] with manau leaves (and kokoa leaves, or also tavahi leaves). For a [531] few decades these mats have also been ornamented along the edges with [177] knotted, colored European wool threads.

fala tutu'ila:

The fala tutu'ila is also a sleeping mat and similar to the lo taha in kind and use.

It is made of leaf strips of the lou tutu'ila pandanus species which is not boiled, but simply dried in the air, like the lou paongo

/206 cont./

285 species (see papa).fala paongo:

[513] This the natives prefer to use as the inner mat layer of a complete bed. It is also used separately as a sleeping mat, and [352] when it gets old it is often used as a floor mat. The fala tofua [431] is further used in gift-giving, and in burial, to lay the corpse to [764] rest. It varies in size with an average measurement of about 1.90 x 1.20 meters.

[824] The mat is plaited of the leaf strips of the lou paongo species; these are prepared as for the papa (see above), but are cut much [531] narrower. The fala paongo are not specially ornamented.

fala tofua:

[513] This is the most important sleeping mat and is used by men, women and children. As part of a complete bed it serves as the uppermost [431] layer of mats. It a favored wedding gift, and at a burial the corpse [585] is laid to rest on it. [764]

[824] Like the lo taha (see above) the mat is plaited of leaf strips of the lou tofua species; however, the strips of the former are used double, whereas for the latter they are worked in singly. Leaf strips of the lou paongo species (see papa) are used as the favored ornamentation.

4. Belt Mats

ta'o-vala tofua:

285
291 This belt mat--like all the others--differs from the sleeping mats in that the plaiting is considerably finer and smaller in size.

[554] /207/ It is the most commonly used of these symbols of respect and rank, (534)

534. See p. 69-71.

[824] and is worn especially by men, but also by women. The ta'o-vala

/207 cont./

285 tofua is plaited out of leaf strips of the lou tofua species (for its
291 treatment see above under lo taha). This belt mat is dyed yellowish
(824) brown with a mixture of burnt coral limestone and the juice of green
(386) coconut husks (or sea water) and then pressed under the sleeping place.

ta'o-vala la (ta'o-vala tapa i'la):

The ta'o-vala la is also worn by men (and women). It differs from the ta'o-vala tofua chiefly in not being rectangular like the latter, but resembles a triangular sail (la); (535)

535. There are also ta'o-vala which are made of three smaller triangles linked together.

it is also plaited out of lou tofua leaf strips and dyed like the ta'o-vala tofua.

ta'o-vala kie:

285 This is the most valuable belt mat. Among commoners, men and
292 women use it only on especially important occasions (for example, at
565 festive church services and as part of the wedding garb of bride and bridegroom). According to a generally well-informed native on Nomuka, only the hau (i.e. the king and those of royal blood) were permitted to wear the ta'p-vala kie in ancient Tonga. Today, however, as a result of democratization, the majority of commoners own them; yet the old order is still alive insofar as a person who wears a ta'o-vala kie, except on the most important occasions, is unpleasantly conspicuous in the eyes of these natives, and is suspected of wanting to show off "as a chieftain."

285 The ta'o-vala kie is made of the lou kie pandanus species.
824 The natives cut the leaves off the plant, remove their thorny edges and part of the midrib, and roll them into rather large bundles (of 20 or 30 leaves) which they boil in a large canister (for about one-half to one hour); then they remove the upper part (upper skin) of the leaves from their lower part and place the former in the sea for

/207 cont./

285 a few days (about seven), desalt them in fresh water, dry them for
 [824] three or four days in the sun and roll them up again. Before plaiting them the natives stretch these upper skins of the leaves, make them pliable and divide them into narrow strips.

Sometimes the natives smoke-dry this belt mat to make it somewhat darker (that is, yellowish brown). Nowadays, they also sometimes interweave it with lou kie strips that have been dyed with multi-colored, artificial European dyes.

ta'o-vala kie-kie:

The ta'o-vala kie-kie is very probably a "new discovery" that is no more than two decades old. This is not so much a mat as a plaited belt with pendant strips that are plaited in the same way. Men and women wear it like the ta'o-vala tofua.

[824] They plait the ta'o-vala kie-kie out of leaf strips of the lou
 [531] tofua variety of pandanus (see above under lo taha) and ornament it with interwoven black-dyed (see above under lo taha) leaf strips of the same species.

/208/

5. Display Mats

fala fihu

285 The fala fihu is a valuable mat which is generally not used by
 565 commoners, but is stored away and kept for a special purpose. It is given by a relative or close friend on the occasion of a wedding; a girl will give it to the man she loves, and a young man will also ask his sister for a fala fihu to give to a male or female friend as a special token of affection. At her wedding, a very well-to-do bride is wrapped in such a mat (but usually of a larger variety known as "fihu"), and at a burial the corpse is sometimes covered with it. The daughter of a high-ranking man also sleeps on such a mat.

[585] The fala fihu is made from the pandanus species lou kie (see
 [292] above under ta'o -vala kie).
 [764]
 [513]
 285
 824

/208 cont./

000 above under ta'o-vala kie).

kie Tonga:

285 This likewise very valuable mat, today the most finely plaited
292 in Tonga, is popularly worn by bride and bridegroom at their wedding
(585) and also occasionally as a ta'o-vala at important church services and
(565) festivities. A commoner will not wear it when he visits a headman
(422) (in order not to elevate himself), but the nobles themselves may wear
it at all times. In the various villages only a few natives own such

285 kie Tonga. Even today, as in the past, (536)

439 536. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 162.

178 such mats are bought from Samoa where they are made even better and more
exquisitely; however, the difficulties involved in procuring these in
particular are too great to make possible a general distribution in the
Archipelago.

285 The material for these mats is also the lou kie species of
824 pandanus (see above).

6. Various Mats

pola:

285 By "pola" the Tongan means the coarsely woven halved coconut
(824) palm leaves of specific (rectangular) shapes that are plaited for
(342) various purposes. They are used for the many sections of walls and
roofs of ancient Tongan style dwellings, as well as for the "mat
doors" put together out of several pola. The coconut leaf mattings
(pola kai) (537)

537. Two joined, coarsely plaited halves of
coconut palm leaves.

on which festive meals are served should also be mentioned here.

fala tuki kava:

This special mat serves as a pad on which the kava roots are

/208 cont./

285 • 285 pounded. (538)

538. See p. 145.

(824) The not very large fala tuki kava is plaited out of pandanus leaf strips of the lou tofua and lou paongo species (see above).

285 Besides the mats listed here there are several variants, as a
824 result of the use of various pandanus species. (539)

539. Besides the varieties mentioned: (lou) tofua, kie, paongo, tutu'ila, the following are also used: (lou) kukuvalu, falahola, tapahina, totolo and fafa.

285 /209/ This list of the most important mats may show their con-
178 siderable importance for the various areas of everyday life. However, if today in Tonga we are able to note a considerable wealth of mats with respect to variety and quantity, they do not represent an unaltered ancient Tongan cultural heritage. A certain change has taken place even here. Though we lack specific and detailed data on this, which could be compared with the foregoing list, nevertheless, on the basis of the old sources it may be said that the mats (la) used as sails, (540)

540. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

the standing mats used to subdivide the rooms of the dwelling, (541)

541. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 285; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 280.

the weather mats for the open sides of the dwellings, (542)

542. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

and the thick hibiscus mats which were worn in boats as a protection against the water, (543)

543. Ibid.

are today no longer made; apparently the natives also no longer use the bast of the banana trunk parasite with which, for example,

/209 cont./

285
178 ornamental mats were formerly plaited. (544)

544. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit.
VI. p. 283.

New creations, however, are the "seat mat for one person" (see above) and the belt mat ta'o-vala kie-kie (see above). The Tongan mats of today seem largely cruder as compared with the past. (545)

545. For example, throughout the Archipelago there are no mats that compare in quality with Numbers. Oz. 141, 144 and 148 in the Gottingen Institute of Ethnology (Cook-Forster Collection, Cook's second South Sea expedition).

285 Furthermore, we must mention the influx of European ornamental materials;
178 the natives like to use the artificial dyes and wool threads for some
177 types of mats because of their novel color effects. Today, they also
[531] often simplify the work of securing the edge of the mats by giving it a sewing-machine seam; in preparing the material, they now boil various leaf species instead of baking them in the earth-oven which was apparently done in former times.

285 And still another change is to be noted: As a result of Tonga's
565 gradual democratization, some mats that were meant to be used only by
178 persons of higher rank lost their status and have fallen into common use by people, (546)

546. See for example, ta'o-vala kie, kie Tonga. who, in any case, probably have a greater wealth of mats of all types today than they had in the past.

285 On the other hand, however, it also seems important to note that
178 in this area the past has been preserved to a great extent: Today in Tonga there is still no dwelling without mats. The natives cling to many different kinds of mats and still use the individual types /210/ for their traditional purposes; for example, the takapau has

/210 cont./

285 remained a floor mat (547)

178

547. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

and the fala paongo is still used as the typical sleeping mat. (548)

548. Ibid.

Mats are made today in large numbers and the natives willingly and as a matter of course, despite all apathy, take on the hard work of making them according to the traditional and complicated process.

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462

178

Mat-making--as in old times--(549)

549. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 293.

is typically women's work. Only the coarse pola, for example, are also plaited by men (as in ancient Tonga). (550)

550. Ibid., p. 295.

[249] Even the planting of pandanus is often done by the women. The cutting of the leaves in particular is their business, "since the men might easily break them, " and the entire subsequent work process is done by the women exclusively. Plaiting the mats (especially the larger ones) [496] is preferably done cooperatively in a kautaha. (551)

551. See pp. 95/96.

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An important difference compared to the past is the fact that all goods made by Tongan women of the commoner class are their property, (552)

552. See in this connection J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 100.

and that today women of rank no longer make mats as a hobby and for sale, (553)

553. Ibid., pp. 100, 295.

especially not for the latter purpose.

285

178

Basket-making is an important area of Tongan plaitwork, today as it was in the past. The following account may show the most

/210 cont./

285
[178] important types of baskets plaited today in Tonga:

kato lou niu (kato tokonaki):

[462] This is the simplest basket and the one most frequently made
[482] and used in Tonga. Men as well as women plait it and use it to
[824] transport plantation products, carry copra, etc. They make a kato
lou niu by cutting a leaf from the coconut palm, cutting it in half
lengthwise, coarsely plaiting the pinnate leaflets of one half, making
the whole into an oval and joining the ends of the pinnate leaflets in
a braidlike weave (= bottom of the basket). The entire work is
finished in about ten minutes. They use this basket only once, as a
rule.

kato kai tunu:

[482] The kato kai tunu is used exclusively to carry food. Women
like to use it to bring provisions to members of a work group. This
[824] basket is made by the women from a section of a fresh coconut palm
leaf. They plait together its pinnate leaflets (on both sides) /211/
and then cut (halve) the midrib (main rib) so that they have a folding
basket. Two handles (made of two times two pinnate leaflets) are
fastened to it.

'oa:

[482] This basket is used especially to carry fish, but also to
[462] transport fruit, mussels, sand, copra etc. Women usually plait the
'oa, but men also do this work.

[824] Such baskets are similar in shape and in the way they are worked
to kato lou niu (see above), but are plaited much finer out of young
coconut palm leaves (work time approximately one-half to one hour)
and are used for several months (by both sexes).

kato lou 'akau:

[482] The kato lou 'akau is used for carrying, and now and then also

/211 cont./

285 for safe-keeping, utensils of all kinds. The natives place in it
482 tobacco, cigarette papers, small knives, oil bottles, combs, mirrors
and diapers (=kato tanaki'anga me'a) and, in the larger ones (kata vala)
articles of clothing; they also use it to shop at the storekeeper's,
and in smaller baskets of this type children carry their schoolbooks,
adults their bibles and hymn books. The kato lou 'akau is used
[462] almost exclusively by women (and girls), and the women (and girls) are
also the only ones who plait it.

285 This basket, which has a rectangular bottom and two loop handles,
[824] is made of strips of pandanus leaves. It has an inner section plaited
[531] of wider lou paongo strips, and around this is worked an outer section
from a lou tofua strip that is equally wide at the bottom and narrower
at the sides; (554)

554. For the method of making various pandanus-leaf
strips see under "papa" and "lo taha,"
pp. 306/307.

these strips are sometimes of natural color, sometimes dyed black
(see above) and plaited into "geometric" patterns.

kato tongi:

This is similar to the kato lou 'akau. The use of both baskets
[824] is the same. The kato tongi is plaited of wider strips of lou paongo
(and lou tofua) and differs in its long sides which are drawn out to
two rather long points.

kato tu'a niu:

[482] The kato tu'a niu is used to transport fruit and food and to
keep sewing gear and sewing work and other utensils. Like the
kato lou'akau, it is an all-around receptacle used for many purposes.
[462] Women and girls use and make it exclusively.

[824] This round basket with a handle (with or without a cover) is
plaited from the midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm

/211 cont./

285 and from narrow pandanus-leaf strips of the lou tofua species (see
824 above) in a spiral coil technique. "Geometric" patterns are worked
(531) in with black dyed (see above) lou tofua strips and natural colored
lou paongo strips.

/212/

kato lou kie:

(482) This small pouch with a handle is used to hold money, tobacco, matches, etc. It is carried only by women and girls who like to take it along when they go shopping.

The kato lou kie is plaited by women and girls from pandanus strips (upper skin) of the lou kie species, (555)

555. See ta'o-vala kie, p. 309-310.

some of which are dyed with European colors.

kato alu:

(585) The kato alu is a "wedding basket" for a wedding of some importance in ancient Tongan style. (556)

556. See p. 114-116.

There are two shapes: a smaller, oval one for the bridegroom and a larger, round one which was originally intended for the bride.

(462) These baskets, which are made only by women, are plaited with
(824) the separated midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm and the split leaf ribs of the creeper alu. They are dyed with a
(386) mixture of the soot of burned Aleurites and the sap of the koka tree (Bischofia javanica [flower]). With thin strings twisted from the
(283) bast of the paper mulberry tree, small rings cut out of shells (or
(237) snail shells [pule] with coconut fiber strings) are fastened to the
(283) outer surface of the basket. The carrying cord is plaited out of
(237) women's hair.

285 From the foregoing list of the most important types of baskets
177 we may conclude that the natives expend considerable time, effort and
178

/212 cont./

285
177
178 care in making these receptacles which are still of rather fundamental importance in their everyday life. A definite change has taken place in this area, however, during the period of European influence: The number of ancient Tongan types has been reduced by the once so artistically plaited coconut fiber baskets (some with ornaments of shell disks) (557)

557. See J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI.
p. 283; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 295.

and today we are experiencing the gradual disappearance of the last "wedding baskets" (kato alu, see above). (558)

558. See pp. 114-116.

Even though the Tongan women still make baskets with considerable expenditure of energy and with the use of complicated methods (see foregoing list), nevertheless the results of their efforts often seem crudely and sometimes unevenly worked. The types listed are an ancient Tongan cultural heritage, except for kato lou kie. This small basket with a handle is an imitation of European purses, according to the natives. It is worth mentioning that the other types of baskets have apparently remained basically unchanged, though some of them are used only to hold European articles, and that the natives have conservatively kept the old black and white patterns of their pandanus-leaf baskets (with the original black dyeing of the leaf strips), even though European /213/ dyes are easily obtainable; the latter are, significantly, used only for the new creation of the kato lou kie.--As in old times, (559)

285
462 559. See J. Cook, loc. cit. VI. p. 283.

basket-making is typically women's work, and the men, as in former times, (560)

560. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

only plait the crude baskets (see above, kato lou niu).

/213 cont./

285

Among Tongan plaitwork we must also include the fans (for cooling off on hot days and to drive away mosquitoes and flies), which are still made in large numbers and in different varieties. A summary of the most important types may give a general idea:

i lou niu:

This, the simplest of the fans and is used by old men and women, though young men and women also use it, and children play with it.

[462] Only women make it. They plait these fans out of sections of young
[824] coconut palm leaves, the pinnate leaflets of which they separate lengthwise.

i tu'a niu:

The i tu'a niu is used particularly by old women and men, though younger natives also use it.

[462] It is plaited by women (girls) from the center rib of the pinnate
[824] leaflets of the coconut palm, from strips of the lou tofua species
(561)

561. See p. 307.

(in natural color and dyed black) or of the lou kie species. (562)

562. See p. 309-310.

For the handle, the midribs of prepared coconut palm leaves are used, or a wooden stick is worked in to reinforce the handle. (563)

[237] 563. Sometimes the natives also wind women's hair around such a handle.

Occasionally the edge of the fan is trimmed with chicken down.

i lou 'akau:

[462] The i lou 'akau is a simple fan used by women (girls) and men
and plaited only by women (girls). They make it out of leaf strips
[824] of the lou tofua species of apndanus and usually plait in a wooden handle.

/213 cont./

285
(293)

i fulu fulu 'i moa:

This is the typical "good" fan of females, especially girls; they like to use it in public, in church, at choir practice, etc.

[462]
[824]
(531)

Women and girls plait it of pandanus strips of the lou tofua variety (as well as lou paongo); (564)

564. See pp. 306-308.

[237]

according to the old style, they work in lou tofua strips dyed black or tinted (for example, crimson) with European dyes. A wooden handle is plaited in as reinforcement, and the entire edge of the fan is trimmed with white chicken down.

/214/

i lou fau:

[462]

The i'lou fau is used mostly by women, but also by men, and is made by the former.

[824]

They use the midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm, leaf strips of the lou tofua (or lou kie) variety of pandanus and

[177]

hibiscus bast (fau). The latter is usually colored with European dyes.

[386]

A wooden handle is plaited in as reinforcement. Sometimes they also

[237]

fasten chicken down to the edge of the fan.

285

[177]

Without doubt, these are products that are basically of ancient Tongan origin. In the absence of comparative material it is difficult for us to determine how great the change is in this area. In any case,

[439]

the frequent use of European dyes, as well as the bits of imported construction timber used to reinforce the handle are recent influences.

[178]

Probably the more "elegant" fans (for example, i fulu fulu 'i moa,

[565]

i tu'a niu) were reserved for nobles in ancient Tonga, and in general we may assume that the work has perhaps become cruder.

Finally, in a discussion of Tongan plaitwork we must mention sandals and hats.

/214 cont./

Sandals

teka:

285
462
824 These are an ancient Tongan cultural heritage. Today, as in the past, they are worn on the sharp-edged coral reefs by fishermen, (sometimes also by women).

285
462
824 The men (not so much the women) plait these sandals from the bast of Hibiscus tiliaceus. Nowadays, they sometimes also use (for convenience) the less durable leaf strips of pandanus.

Hats

285
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291 The occasional wearing of hats may be traced back to European influence. Hence the plaiting of such head coverings is also a new type of work in Tonga.

tata lou 'akau:

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794 These hats are worn by older women when they go to church; they are a sign of membership in the Wesleyan congregation where the wearers have made a special confession. Younger women and girls wear these hats not only for church-going, but also on other festive occasions, and as sunshades on Sunday. In the opinion of one Tongan who is in general well informed, hats have been made in the Archipelago for about 40 years and are an imitation of models taken from the (Europeanized) Niue Island where indeed very similar models are plaited to this day.

285
462
824
531 /215/ The tata lou 'akau are made only by women from the leaf strips of the lou tofua pandanus species; (565)

565. See lo taha, pp. 305-308.

531 they plait patterns into them with pandanus leaf strips of the lou kie species, (566)

566. See ta'o-vala kie, p. 309.

died with European dyes, and put a band of cotton around the hat.

/215 cont./

● 285
292

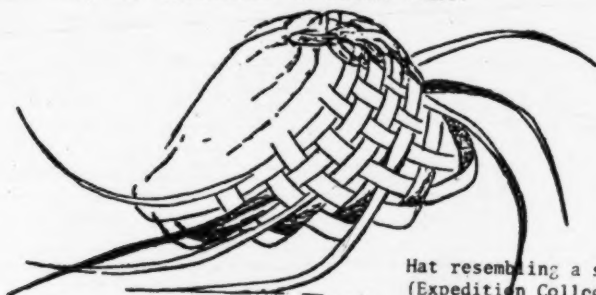
tata fakapolisi: Hat resembling police caps.

helemeti: Hat resembling sun helmet.

These hats and those of other shapes are sometimes quickly plaited by young Tongans on the plantations from halved coconut palm leaves, and are worn as a protection against the sun or as a quaint

[198]

adornment. They are "inventions" of recent times.



Hat resembling a sun helmet
(Expedition Collection,
No. 113)

Typical women's plaitwork is the making of various ornamental belts.

mana fau:

This simplest ornamental belt may be worn on all special occasions (church-going, festival, etc.) by girls and women (and boys) in place of a belt mat (ta'o-vala, see above). Perhaps this bast belt is a recent introduction or a new creation which may, however, be several decades old.

285
283
824
[462]

Women and girls make the mana fau from the bast of Hibiscus tiliaceus. With the machete men and women (girls) usually cut several small trunks (some 15 or 20) of this tree which grows only wild; the women (girls) scrape off as much as they can of the outer bark with knives, pieces of broken glass, etc., and place the slender trunks into the sea for two to four weeks; this loosens and makes pliable the rest of the bark-bast layer so that it can easily be pulled

/215 cont./

285 off (all around) in one strip. After it has dried in the sun for
283 about two days /216/ the white bast (= on the inner side of the re-
824 maining bark) is removed. This the women (girls) divide into narrow
strips and therewith knot the mana fau which is actually only a strand
of bast slung around the hips, from which the bast fibers, knotted to
it in close succession, hang down to below the knees.

kie-kie lou fau:

292 The kie-kie lou fau is worn especially by women and girls,
though sometimes also by men. They wear it instead of a ta'o-vala
(764) to church, when visiting chiefs, for festivals and other occasions,
(574) and for dances (laka-laka, ma'ulu'ulu, hula hula, tau'olunga, hula,
(535) ulu); they also decorate fresh graves with it.

285 This ornamental belt which originated only in recent times (end
292 of the last century?/ is made by women and girls, likewise out of
(462) hibiscus bast, and consists of a plaited belt cord on which are
(824) knotted long, narrow bast strips that hang down. It usually has
(283) special knotted ornaments in the hip section (for example, bast
(177) strips tied into rosettes), and parts of it, in contrast to mana fau,
(386) are always dyed with European dyes (particularly green, lavender, pink,
and blue).

kie-kie pueki:

292 This ornamental belt, which is also worn by women and girls
(438) (and occasionally by men) in place of the ta'o-vala, is a typical
product of the island of Niua Toputapu situated in the very northern
part of the Archipelago. It may be an ancient cultural heritage.

292 The natives there make the kie-kie pueki, like the mana fau, of
237 hibiscus bast (with long pendant bast strips); all around the hip
(283) section, however, they knot snail shells on a band about eight centi-
(285) meters wide. The snail shells, which are whitish-yellow in their
(177)
(386)

/222 cont./

287 production from the supervision of nobles coarsened the results is
178 difficult to say. The old tapa pieces in the Göttingen Institute
177 of Ethnology, (581)
[565]

581. That is, Numbers Oz. 575, 578-580;
all from the Cook-Forster Collection.

for example, scarcely surpass the products of the present, and though the patterns customary today may seem in part clumsy, yet they show a certain skill and assurance in the decoration of large areas.

287 The Christianization of the Archipelago has influenced tapa-
527 making insofar as this work, like every other, is laid aside on
177 Sundays and is scarcely done even on Saturdays. (582)

582. On account of preparations for Sunday.

287 The Tongan women also try to finish all planned koka'anga work (that
461 is, the pasting and coloring of the large pieces) before the Christmas season; in the new year they gradually start beating feta'aki (raw tapa), and it often takes months before the first koka'anga again takes place.

285 In summary we may say about the plait- and knotwork as well as
283 tapa-making of the Tongans that in their use of materials and in their
289 technique they have, to a large extent, preserved their heritage from
177 the past. True, some of it has been lost, new things have arisen,
178 European expedients have gained entrance, and the products of today seem /223/ in part cruder in comparison with ancient Tongan work. Yet one can scarcely speak of an actual deterioration.

In addition to employment of materials and technique, it may be interesting to note the distribution of these products among the Tongan people in the past and at present. In this connection we discover that today a certain quantity of such pieces are to be found in every Tongan household, and that, as a result of the "liberation" of commoners and the attendant "debasing" of types once reserved for

/223 cont./

285 nobles to the realm of the common people, most of the traditional
283 plaitwork, knotwork and tapa-making is scarcely less numerous than
287 it was in the past.
198

[565] During the last few decades there seems to have been danger,
especially in and around the harbor towns, that these ancient crafts
285 might be lost. For this reason a course in "Tongan handicrafts"
287 /cited in English/ was introduced in all Tongan schools of the
198 Archipelago, in order to teach children the important ancient Tongan
891 crafts. Many a girl from Nuku'alofa, for example, whose mother was
already inexperienced in the old handicrafts, has in this way been
made familiar with them, and even in the harbor towns one now con-
stantly hears the sound of the tapa mallets, though even here it was
never completely silenced. For here, and especially on the small
[868] islands, the ancient Tongan crafts have been handed down to this day
from mothers and grandmothers to their children and grandchildren.

285 The "liberation" of commoners also brought about no essential decrease
287 in industriousness after they were no longer obliged to work for the
198 nobles; the authority of the latter passed over to the government,
565 though in milder form, and the Tongan district and town officers
656 /cited in English/ serving in the individual villages--who are subject
to a higher authority--see to it that the Tongan women living within
their jurisdiction produce certain quantities of tapa and mats--for
their own use--during prescribed periods. The majority of women and
[956] girls willingly carry out these orders, though there is no law that
forces them to do so, for mats and tapa are still a standard of
prosperity; no one wants to be regarded as "poor;" and women will
therefore work for their good reputation.

285 The question as to why the ancient Tongan treasures are still
287 held in such high regard can scarcely be answered simply by pointing
198

/223 cont./

285 out that the Tongan women can obtain the necessary raw material from
287 their own land, and that they are simply continuing a centuries-old
178 tradition that has long been taken for granted. The chapters on
clothing and house-building alone show that this answer does not
285 suffice. No intensive European influences affected the area of
287 plaiting, knotting and tapa work, as they did the area of clothing
178 (missionization). Yet the various examples set by whites and the
177 possibilities of obtaining new goods and materials, as in the case
of house-building, could alone have caused a rather great change.
/224/ The fact that this did not occur must doubtless be explained
by the inertia of the Tongans, by their sometimes quite definite
conservative attitude. (583)

(386)

583. Interesting in this connection is the fact that the natives can easily obtain European dyes and that they like to use them (for example, for certain types of mats and for ornamental belts), yet they strictly avoid these otherwise so popular garish colors in making their traditional pandanus-leaf baskets and in dyeing their tapa lengths.

462

E. Division of Labor and Daily Routine

The division of labor according to sex among the Tongan population living in the villages is based on the principle that the men generally do the heavy work while the lighter tasks are left to the women.

A list of the chief tasks may show this:

MEN

Plantation work
Harvest transport
Copra-making
Fishing
Preparation of earth-oven
Keeping domestic animals
Grass-cutting (village property)

WOMEN

Food preparation and cooking
Tending children
Taking care of house
Washing clothes and sewing
Mat-making, along with plaitwork
(and knot work)
Tapa-making